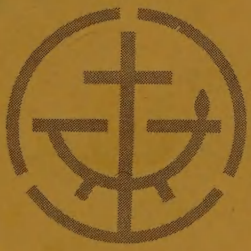
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1878.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the Boston Monday Lectures is to present the results of the freshest German, English, and American scholarship on the more important and difficult topics concerning the relation of Religion and Science.

They were begun in the Meionaon in 1875; and the audiences, gathered at noon on Mondays, were of such size as to need to be transferred to Park-street Church in October, 1876, and thence to Tremont Temple, which was often more than full during the winter of 1876–77.

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The lectures on Biology oppose the materialistic, and not the theistic, theory of Evolution.

The lectures on Transcendentalism and Orthodoxy contain a discussion of the views of Theodore Parker.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

In the careful reports of Mr. Cook's Lectures printed in the Boston Daily Advertiser, were included by the stenographer sundry expressions (applause, &c.) indicating the immediate and varying impressions with which the Lectures were received. Though these reports have been thoroughly revised by the author, the publishers have thought it advisable to retain these expressions. Mr. Cook's audiences included, in large numbers, representatives of the broadest scholarship, the profoundest philosophy, the acutest scientific research, and generally of the finest intellectual culture, of Boston and New England; and it has seemed admissible to allow the larger assembly to which these Lectures are now addressed to know how they were received by such audiences as those to which they were originally delivered.

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I.

IS THERE NOTHING IN GOD TO FEAR?

SEVENTIETH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE MARCH 19.

"Se judice nemo nocens absolvitur." — JUVENAL: Sat., xiii. 3.

"Magna vis est conscientiæ et magna in utramque partem, ut neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint et pœnam semper ante oculos versari putent, qui peccârint." — CICERO: *Milo*, 23.

ORTHODOXY.

I.

IS THERE NOTHING IN GOD TO FEAR?

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

HENRY IV., in smock and barefoot, stood three days in the snow before the palace of Pope Hildebrand at Canossa, imploring pardon in vain, until his penance had been sufficiently protracted to become a symbol of the subjection of his nation. Bismarck said in 1872, "Germany is not going to Canossa physically or spiritually." Nevertheless, Bismarck seems to have had what even he would call tolerably serious trouble with the Jesuits of the latest day; and Gladstone assures the British Empire that the time has not yet arrived when free nations can profitably forget the schemes of the power behind the Papacy. That power will not disappear when the present Pope dies. You say that the form which carries the scythe and the hour-glass will pass through the Vatican soon, and change much on the Tiber. But the power

behind the Pope made the present Pope, and it will make the new one. Pius IX. began as a reformer. He was taken in hand by a power greater than his own, and he ceased to advocate reforms in the Romish Church. Jesuit Ultramontanism has spoken through him ever since the first quarter of his possession of the papal chair.

As the power behind the power of the Papacy will not change, perhaps it is worth while for us to ask what that power thinks concerning its prospects in the United States. It would be entirely in order for me to read a passage out of the famous Syllabus of Pius IX., to show that he wishes to do in the New World what he endeavors to do in the Old. But we have more definite information as to the American plans of the Pope. I hold in my hand an interesting volume just issued from the press, and written by a distinguished lawyer who is now a member of the cabinet at Washington, — R. W. Thompson, — on "The Papacy and the Civil Power." In it (p. 119) is quoted a highly significant document, which ought to be better known; namely, a letter written by Pius IX. to Maximilian, when it seemed probable, in 1864, that this prince would become emperor of Mexico. What did the Pope say to him?

"Your Majesty is well aware that in order effectually to repair the evils occasioned by the revolution, and to bring back as soon as possible happy days for the Church, the Catholic religion must, above all things, continue to be the glory and the mainstay of the Mexican nation, *to the exclusion of*

every other dissenting worship; that the bishops must be perfectly free in the exercise of their pastoral ministry; that the religious orders should be re-established or re-organized, conformably with the instructions and the powers which *we* have given; that the patrimony of the Church, and the rights which attach to it, may be maintained and protected; that *no person may obtain the faculty of teaching and publishing false and subversive tenets;* that instruction, whether public or *private*, should be directed and watched over by *the ecclesiastical authority;* and that, in short, the chains may be broken which, up to the present time, have held down the Church in a state of dependence, and subject to the arbitrary rule of the civil government" (*Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia*, 1865, p. 749).

Two things concerning the conflict of papal ideas with American institutions are very clear: first, that we cannot resist the introduction here of the thin edge of the wedge which has troubled other peoples; secondly, that in some way we must resist the introduction of the thick end of the wedge. [Applause.] You say that I am about to be narrow; and that I am to launch myself upon a theme so vexed and blazing that it cannot be touched here and now without rashness. What I assert is, that somewhere between the thin and the thick end of the Romish wedge, public opinion in America will by and by call "Hold!"—I do not know where, but somewhere.

What is the thin end of the wedge? Yonder in Charlestown there is a prison, in which the majority

of the convicts are Romish. All who are there are wards of the State. They are not under the care of any denomination. Massachusetts is the preacher to those convicts. Massachusetts directs their moral culture. Massachusetts is not denominational. It has been the opinion of Massachusetts, that she had the right to manage the instruction of those convicts according to her own ideas. Massachusetts was so narrow, so benighted, so sectarian, as to suppose that she possessed the right to appoint a chaplain over there, and to instruct him to teach nothing denominational, but to put the Bible into the hands of the convicts; to organize a Sunday religious school, not sectarian at all, but in the hands of all denominations; to hold devotional meetings, and thus train these convicts into preparation for a life of freedom, treating them in all ways as a wise parent would treat an erring child. Massachusetts thought she had a right to do that; and that is what she did.

Within the last ten months there has arisen in that institution, under the shadow of Bunker Hill, a conflict between Catholic canon law and Massachusetts State law. It has been asserted there, in the name of Romanism, that Romish convicts must not attend the Sabbath schools managed by the State chaplain; must not, under pain of excommunication, go to the devotional meetings authorized by Massachusetts; and strenuous objection has been made to the circulation of Protestant Bibles among the convicts. I am now reciting facts from the very significant, incisive, manly report (*Massachusetts Pub. Doc.*, No.

13, October, 1876) of the able and eloquent chaplain, Mr. Speare, who, I hope, will soon have a hearing before a committee at the State House and before Massachusetts. [Applause.] The thin edge of the wedge is being driven with a muffled hammer. What are you to do about this? Berlin has determined, but has Boston decided how she will treat Ultramontanism?

My impression is, that Massachusetts law ought to be made in Massachusetts, and not on the Tiber. [Applause.] If I had a drop of sectarian blood in my veins, I should wish to open the dull flesh, and let out the muddy compound. [Applause.] I want peace with all members of society; but I want first purity. It cannot be, it never will be, that the American people will submit to have canon law enforced over American law. [Applause.]

In Salem yonder, a learned ecclesiastic came into the school board not long ago, and brought with him a number of volumes to show what the canon law is about instruction such as can be permitted to Romish children. The other gentlemen on that board listened to him for a while, and finally said, "My dear sir, we do not care what the canon law is. We know it is against our proceedings. You are aside from the point in showing us that the ecclesiastical provisions of the Romish Church will not permit the sending of your children to schools in which the Bible is read." Influences public and private, of such a kind, were brought into action in Salem, that the effect, and probably the intended effect, was that

when the Bible was read the next time in one of the most prominent of the schools in question, all the Romish children put on their hats, and began to shuffle their feet, and make other signs of irreverence. Those scholars remained members of that school about fifteen minutes. [Applause.] The significant thing, however, was, that after being drawn into ecclesiastical Romish schools for a fortnight or a month, the children were found to be making very unsatisfactory progress; and the parents came to the school board in many cases, and said, "Take our children back: they will behave themselves now. If they do not, treat them as you treat other children. We desire to have this matter settled by fair vote, after full discussion. Until it is so settled, we hope you will manage on the American plan. We know that objections are made in ecclesiastical quarters. But your schools are better than ours, and our children must have the best schools." [Applause.] And then in a whisper they added, "We do not care as much for canon law as for American law." [Applause.]

Now, I am not here to cast the slightest odium upon that body of citizens which is in many respects worthy of the fame of Edmund Burke, and Wellington, and O'Connell, and Charlotte Brontë, and John C. Calhoun, and of the best part of Horace Greeley. [Applause.] I do not think that the more intelligent members of the great processions, which on St. Patrick's Day passed through the streets of our chief cities, are inclined to put canon law above American

law. I believe I am uttering the secret sentiments of many such men in this Commonwealth, when I say that they want the laws of Massachusetts made on the Merrimack and the Connecticut, and not on the Tiber. [Applause.] I have their support, I doubt not, when I say America must resist the thick end, that is the Maximilian end, of the papal wedge. She cannot resist the thin end. Every thing here must go by count of heads and clack of tongues. I am glad this should be so, if only the heads are heavy with the results of fair discussion, and the tongues wise. There must be not a little discussion of this topic before our legislators will understand that there are quite as many Presbyterian sittings in the United States as Romish. You have two million Romish sittings in the United States. You have also two million Presbyterian, three million Baptist, and six million Methodist sittings; and my little denomination, the Congregational, has a million and a half. [Applause.] There are votes for America as well as for Rome [applause]; and, therefore, let politicians who are afraid [applause] remember that somewhere, between the thin end and the thick end of the wedge, it will be policy to pause. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

God punishes sin no longer than it endures. Many of the evils of disloyalty to the nature of things may continue even after the soul becomes loyal, as many of the evils of secession persist even after a State has returned to allegiance. But, so far

as is possible, the forces which were punitive to the disloyal commonwealth become healing to the loyal; and those that are healing to the loyal become punitive to the disloyal. A Personal will has proclaimed an unbending enactment, which we call the law of causation; and out of that free, holy law, arise all the blessings and all the pains of the universe. Sin's punishment is sin's effect. It is far more wise, therefore, to ask how long sin may endure, than to inquire how long its punishment may last. Of the two methods, the Scientific and the Biblical, by which an answer to this majestic question may be sought, I am here shut up to neither the one nor the other; but I prefer always to put the Scientific method in the foreground. Let me say once for all that I do so, not because I undervalue the Biblical, but because in our time the wants of many minds are best met by combining Scientific and Biblical evidence, and by making now the Scientific the edge, and the Biblical the weight of the weapon behind the edge, and now the Biblical the edge, and the Scientific the weight of the weapon.

According to my view of the Unity of the Divine nature, God is one, as we meet him in the Old Testament and the Oldest; in the New and the Newest. There are four Testaments: an Oldest and an Old, a New and a Newest. The Oldest Testament is the Nature of Things. The Newest is Christ's Continued Life in the Present Influences of the Holy Spirit. The Oldest and Newest are unwritten; the Old and New are written. But the voices of the four are one.

Singularly enough, too, the scenery of the four Testaments is one and the same Holy Land; and he who does not feel at home in them all may well suspect the thoroughness of his knowledge of either. Carlyle calls Luther what the future will call Carlyle: "Great, not as a hewn obelisk, but as an Alpine mountain; unsubduable granite, piercing far and wide into the heavens; yet in the clefts of it, fountains, green beautiful valleys with flowers." This is a good map of the human conscience as we know it scientifically. This too, fairly understood, is a good map of the Old Testament, and of the New, and of the Newest. If the Old Testament Scripture is at once severe and tender; if, in all its gnarled, unsubduable heights, there burst out springs of crystalline water; if, in the inaccessible ruggedness of its peaks, we find green places, soft with celestial visitation of showers and of dew; if there is in the written Word a combination of the Alpine and of the Paradisiacal, unfathomable justice matched by unfathomable tenderness; so in the Newest Testament and in the Oldest — that is to say, in History and in the Nature of Things — *we find in the deepest clefts, the springs that do most to quench our thirst!* I, therefore, shall dare to ask you to hang over the great chasms in the nature of things, because at the bottom of these, spring up the waters which are the healing of the nations.

Agassiz, wishing to study the glittering interior of an Alpine chasm, allowed himself on one occasion to be lowered into a crevice in a glacier, and remained

for some hours at mid-day, at a point hundreds of feet below the surface of the ice. After gratifying his enthusiastic curiosity, he gave the signal to be drawn up. I heard him tell this himself; and he said, "In our haste we had forgotten the weight of the rope. We had calculated the weight of my person, of the basket in which I rode, and of the tackling that was around the basket; but we had forgotten the weight of the rope that sank with me into the chasm. The three men at the summit were not strong enough to draw me back. I had to remain there until one of the party went five miles — two and a half out and two and a half back — to the nearest tree to get wood enough to make a lever, and draw me up." When habit lowers a man into the jaws of the nature of things, it is common, but it is not scientific, to forget the weight of the rope! That weight is a *fact* in the universe, and the importance of not forgetting it is one of the most haughty and unanswerable teachings of science.

Character does not tend to final permanence! You have a large task on your hands, gentlemen, if you are to prove that. You have all the great literatures of the globe against you, to commence with. All the deep proverbs of all nations, and kindreds, and tribes, and tongues, are against you. All the established truths relating to habit are against you. All the instincts in man which forebode terrible things when we let ourselves sink far down in the practice of sin are against you. All subtlest sorcery, by which we forget the weight of the rope, is against

you. The Oldest Scripture and the Old, the Newest and the New, are against you. The law of judicial blindness, the world will understand by and by as well as Shakspeare understood it. In that day your proposition that character does not tend to a final permanence will find no scientific believers. The results of evil choice in character are effects, but they become causes; and so every act in itself is an eternal mother more surely than it is an eternal daughter. The weight of the rope! It is as unscientific to forget that in religious science, as it was for Agassiz to forget it among the glaciers of the Alps — and not a little more dangerous!

You wish me to look fairly at all the facts of the case. That, and only that, is what I am endeavoring to do. The question is, whether, while I am doing this, or while I am true to the scientific method, I can agree with Theodore Parker in these propositions: —

1. "There is nothing in God to fear" (PARKER, *Sermons on Theism*, p. 210). Really this language is here.

2. "If God does not care as much for Iscariot as for Christ, as much desiring and insuring the ultimate triumph of the one as the other, then he is not the Infinite Father, whose ways are equal to all his children; but partial, unjust, cruel, wicked, and oppressive" (p. 299).

3. "Every fall is a fall upward" (p. 408).

Turn over to the last and most emphatic passage in this best book Parker ever wrote, except always his attacks on slavery, and we find this as the concluding sentence: —

4. "Suppose I am the blackest of sinners: that as Cain, I slew my brother; as Iscariot, I betrayed him (and such a brother!); or, as a New-England kidnapper, I sold him to be a slave: and, blackened with such a sin, I come to die. Still I am a child of God, — of the infinite God. He foresaw the consequences of my faculties, of the freedom he gave me, of the circumstances which girt me round; and do you think he knows not how to bring me back? that he has not other circumstances in store to waken other faculties, and lead me home, compensating my variable hate with his own constant love!

"'Come, then, expressive silence, muse His praise.'"
(P. 417.)

Gentlemen, Theodore Parker's practice throttled kidnappers. Theodore Parker's theory nursed kidnappers. [Applause.]

1. The theory that a man may die a kidnapper or murderer of the blackest criminality, and yet be sure to come out right in the end, and that God as much desires and insures the ultimate triumph of Iscariot as of Christ, does not work well in this world. [Applause.]

You say that one fact does not mean much; and I am not asking anybody to put the emphasis on it which it seems to me to deserve: but I have four tests of truth, — Intuition, Instinct, Experiment in the large range, and Syllogism. Now, to test Parker's explicit teaching, that a man may die a kidnapper, or a Cain, or an Iscariot, and yet be sure of

coming out safe in the end, take the test of plain common sense, and suppose society saturated with that belief for thousands of years. Ask how it operates in this life, in long and wide and multiplex trial, to make that the ruling opinion behind law and literature, politics and commerce, peace and war. Does not every man know that the theory that "it is never too late to mend" relaxes the moral fibres, loosens the strenuous curb which mere prudence puts upon greed and fraud, and, even with the most thoughtful and conscientious, inevitably diminishes the imperativeness of the reasons in favor of good morals? Theodore Parker's preciously loved Iscariot theory hampers — to be perfectly frank, I must say I think it hamstrings — society! If a theory does not work well, I hold that it is scientifically proved to be out of harmony with the nature of things. Any proposition, which, in a long course of absorption into the veins of the world, produces pimples and dizziness and ugly ulcers, is not good food. It is not made for us. The theory that a man may die a Cain, an Iscariot, or a kidnapper, and yet come out right, is one which I never will take the responsibility of proclaiming, for I know it will do harm (applause); and, because I know it will not work well, I, for one, am convinced that it is out of accord with the nature of things, and so is wholly unscientific.

2. *A style of teaching that does not work well in this world is adequately discredited as a guide to practical truth as to the next world.*

Law is a unit throughout the universe; and there-

fore a vivid sight of an arc of experience in the seen and temporal exposes by more than a glimpse the course of the whole circle in the unseen and eternal. Even in this life we are not outside of the range of the irreversibly just and the irreversibly tender laws of the nature of things; and therefore, when age after age puts its seal of condemnation on any proposition because it does not work well in this world, I have the right, in the name of the unity and universality of law, and of the principles that truth works well, and that what works well is truth, to brand that proposition as unscientific, and as therefore not to be trusted in its relations to the next world. [Applause.]

3. From our present point of view, look fairly and with your own eyes at the central objection to the theory that there may be punishment in the universe forever.

Do you admit that the past is irreversible? I hope you do; certainly I do. Very well: if the past is irreversible, there are some six thousand years at least during which not a few men have done what conscience proclaims ought not to have been done. Gentlemen, that record is to last, is it not? "Oh, no! Oh, no! It would be against the deepest of the liberal instincts to suppose that any thing that can cause regret and pain will be in existence when the great plan of the universe has been fully executed." What! a record having in it all the Neros and Caligulas, all the perjuries and leprosies and butcheries of all time, and existing there as a thing that ought

not to have been, — a record irreversible and inerasable, — and yet this give no regret to consciences looking back upon it, even if they are purified ones? Gentlemen, there will be forever in the universe a record of every sin that has been committed in it. There will be forever in the universe regret on the part of all consciences in the universe that that sin was committed. If regret is pain, there will be pain in the universe forever! What are we to do with these provincial, unscientific, lawless whippers of syllabub in thought [applause], who will not look north, south, east, and west, and who proclaim constantly that there is nothing in God to fear? There is much in the nature of things to fear! "In the last analysis, there will be a painless universe! It cannot but be, that all things will come out as they ought to come out!" Indeed, I think they will [applause]; and that is why, for one, I stand in fear before the nature of things. [Applause.] I am not quite a full-grown man; but I am afraid of the power of sin to benumb the moral sense, and of the tendency of human nature to sin repeatedly when the moral sense is once benumbed.

I am afraid of the weight of the rope, when I lower myself into the jaws of Gehenna; and I believe solemnly that I shall never cease to regret any sin which I outgrow. It always will be to me a thing that ought not to have been; and my future will have rays of bliss taken off it by every sin I have committed; and that will be true, no matter what God does for me. He is not likely to change to-mor-

row, or the day after, the natural laws according to which I and all consciences in the universe must forever and forever condemn whatever ought not to have been.

Look at the fact, the mathematical certainty, that if you deduct from the experience of a man's holiness for a while, you have deducted something of absolutely measureless value. You have poisoned him for once. Now, this positive evil of diminishing the possible bliss of that man is to last some time! It never will stop its course, will it? "There will be no final pain or permanent loss in the universe? Oh, no!" I affirm that you cannot take out of human history six thousand years, and give them over to your blackest sins, or to your least black, without subtracting from the bliss of the universe; and that this gap is a part of the record of the past; and that you never can fill it up. That gap will exist

> "Till the sun is old,
> And the stars are cold,
> And the leaves of the judgment-book unfold."
> (BAYARD TAYLOR'S *translation of a Persian hymn.*)

If you please, my friends, this universe is more serious than poet has ever dreamed, or prophet proclaimed. Any love of ours for what the nature of things condemns is dissonance with Almighty God. If we are not glad to have the nature of things take its course, we are not glad to have God do his will. Whoever reveres the scientific method will never for an instant forget the stern facts, that all the past is

irreversible; that a record of sin, once written, will endure forever; and that a deduction from the bliss of the universe, if made at all, is of necessity made for eternity. So has God arranged all things, that no tears, no infinities of the Divine tenderness, will ever cause that which once has been, but which ought not to have been, to cease to be a part of the record of the past on which you and I and He must gaze forever and forever!

Carlyle is as free from partisanship as the North wind is from a yoke, and Boston ought to hear him when he speaks of Cromwell's inner sky. Hampden and Cromwell, Macaulay says, were once on shipboard in England, with the intention of coming to America for life. Milton, Cromwell, and Hampden were the first Americans. "It is very interesting, very natural, this conversion, as they well name it," says Carlyle of Cromwell; "this awakening of a great, true soul from the worldly slough to see into the awful truth of things; to see that Time and its shows all rested on Eternity, and this poor earth of ours was the threshold either of Heaven or Hell" (*On Heroes*, Lect. VI.). "The world is alive, instinct with Godhead, beautiful and awful, even as in the beginning of days. One Life; a little gleam of time between two Eternities; no second chance to us forevermore" (Lect. V.).

The force that moves men to deny that character tends to a final permanence, bad as well as good, is sentiment, and not science. It is a form of sentiment peculiar to luxurious ages, and not to the great

and strenuous ones. Let the tone of an age change, and this sentiment changes. It is what the Germans call a *Zeit-geist*, and by no means an *Ewigkeit-geist*, — a spirit of the day, and not a spirit of Eternity. Even self-evident truth has sometimes very little power to exorcise what reasoning did not inculcate. But it is the business of Science to make all ages great and strenuous. When Science has done her perfect work in the world, the lawless liberalism, characteristic of luxurious and relaxed ages, will have no authority.

It is scientifically incontrovertible, that the past cannot be changed; and therefore it is sure that, if regret for what ought not to have been is pain, there will be pain in the universe forever.

This planet moves through space enswathed with light. The radiance of the sun billows away to all quarters of infinity. Behind the globe a shadow is projecting; diminishing, indeed, lost at last in the immeasurable vastness of the illuminations of the scene. The stars sing there; the suns are all glad. No doubt, if Richter was right in saying that the interstellar spaces are the homes of souls, there is unfathomable bliss in all these pulsating, unfathomable spaces, so far as they are regions of loyalty to God. There can be no blessedness without holiness, and so there cannot be bliss where loyalty does not exist. Behind every planet there will be that shadow; and as surely as there cannot be illumination on one side without shadow on the other, so surely a record of sin will cast a shadow forever, and some part of that

shadow will sweep over the sea of glass, and not be invisible from the Great White Throne.

You would be true to self-evident propositions. Be true to the certainty that the past is irreversible, and you will break the spell of the unscientific sentiment that there cannot be pain or loss in the universe forever. So many worlds are around us, so many better ages are ahead of us, that there will be, for aught I know, as much more light than shadow in the moral as there is in the physical universe. Let no man proclaim that the human race thus far has been a failure. Let no man exhibit as Christianity the pandemonium caricature which regards the white lives that come into the world, and go out of it before they are stained with responsible evil, as lost ones! A majority of the human beings who have appeared in the world have gone hence before they were responsible for their actions. I believe the majority of all who have been born into the world thus far are in heaven. But you and I are forced by the precision of the scientific method to admit that the majority of those who live now have not learned similarity of feeling with God; and you and I know incontrovertibly that without similarity of feeling with God, salvation is a natural impossibility.

Erratic opinion itself teaches glad allegiance to God as the natural and inexorable condition of the peace of the soul. Go to your Ryder at Chicago, or your Chapin at New York, and these serious teachers will tell you that they everywhere proclaim the

necessity of the new birth. Where is there among the more sober, that is the later, Universalists, a man who really possesses scholarship, who does not teach the necessity of similarity of feeling with God? Dr. Ryder, however, at a late national convention here at Lynn, said that the Universalist churches have not, on the whole, a good name for spiritual efficiency, and that the Universalist ministry does not seem to feel itself charged with the duty of bringing society into the mood which science pronounces to be a necessity to the welfare of the soul. (See "The Universalist" of date of the convention, 1875.) He criticised this ministry for lack of earnestness in the work of leading men into similarity of feeling with God. That convention, although it came near censuring this formidable frankness by a formal vote, did not cut its own throat by doing so. Even Universalism, if scholarly at all, will admit that without similarity of feeling with God, salvation is a natural impossibility. It knows that it cannot deny that the majority of those now in the world are not living in the love of what God loves, and the hate of what God hates.

We are agreed, therefore, up to this point; and the question is whether, as Parker affirms, a man who passes out of life as incorrigibly bad as the blackest crimes can make him, can be assured, in the name of natural law, that he will attain bliss at last, and that character does not tend to a final permanence!

Your chief objection to the idea that evil may last

forever is drawn, not from Science, nor from Scripture, but from the characteristic of luxurious ages, an unscientific laxness of sentiment. You affirm that there cannot be pain in a perfect universe; that is, in a moral system where all are free, and where what ought to be done is done by the Ruler. I wish to fracture this bowlder, which lies upon the necks of many. This vague, easy sentiment has behind it nothing strenuous or clear in thought. I have done enough to throw logical discredit upon that sentiment by simply pointing to the irreversibleness of the past, and the certainty that conscience, as transfigured by the salvation which you say all men will attain, must regret forever and forever a record of sin. I have shown that there will be loss forever and forever on account of all the sin that has occurred, or that is yet to occur.

Having thus, in the name of the scientific method, thrown across this misty chasm of sentimentality a single thread, will you allow me to carry over on that one strand a cable? When the bridge at Niagara was built, a single wire was carried over by a kite, and on that wire was taken over a cable, and finally a bridge. I wish to span this chasm, and beyond all controversy we see that a single wire is carried across it. Sin having once entered the world, there is a form of loss or evil, and there is one form of pain which we assuredly know will exist forever. *If, then, some pain and some evil may exist forever, and God yet be good, do you know enough to say how much evil may exist forever, and God yet be good?* [Applause.]

Who is there here who dares to say that he is wise enough to authorize Theodore Parker to hiss at the Scripture on this theme?

When you know scientifically that one thread is carried over, how do you know but that the cable which the Scriptures carry across may be absolutely the scientific bridge?

We are all agreed that some evil may last forever; we are all agreed that God is good: and now, in the name of the fact that God is good, you desire me to say with Theodore Parker, that a man may die a kidnapper, and yet be saved. You have no reason at the bottom of your demand on that point, except this sentiment, or the feeling of the luxurious hours, and not of the most illumined days of the world, that it cannot be that any pain can last forever. I say some pain will, and you know it will; some loss or evil will, and you know it will. Is it not high time, therefore, for us to consult some other authority than that of this scientifically discredited sentiment? The question is, whether you are wise enough to estimate the amount of pain, or loss, or evil, which may last forever?

Apply to this misleading sentiment another and yet sterner test. Suppose that the world were not yet created, and that you were asked, "What will there be in this moral system which God is about to call into existence? Will there be evil in it?"—"I do not think there will be, because God is good."—"Will there be any one in it allowed to lose peace of soul, by falling into love of what God hates, and

the hate of what God loves?" — "My sentiments assure me that there will not be: God is good and perfect; there will be no imperfection in his work." — "Will there be in this universe, which is about to come into existence, any free and responsible agent weighted from birth to death with inherited bad tendencies, which, although not sin, are the copious fountain of evil choices? Will there be a law of hereditary descent by which beings innocent, so far as their own acts are concerned, will be brought into the world to suffer to the third or fourth generation, as a consequence of the evil choices of their ancestors?" — "No, that cannot be: a perfect being, with a perfect motive, creating with a perfect purpose, never will call such a law into existence." — "How do you know he will not?" — "My cultured sentiment is all against it. I was born in the city of Boston. It is almost a violation of taste to suppose that God will do any thing of that sort. It is too late to teach in the nineteenth century, that Infinite Wisdom and Power, bringing into existence a moral system, will allow to exist in it any thing which the spirit of our time would not anticipate! [Applause.] Advanced thought cannot admit that any such imperfection will exist in a universe created by a perfect being. God is good. Evil will not be allowed to begin. I am sure nothing of the kind will be found in the world. It is not to be supposed for a moment, that an Infinite Being will permit sin to exist in a moral system. I am willing to stake my eternity on the veracity of this sentiment."

Turn now to the actual facts of life, and what is here? What Infinite Wisdom and Power and Goodness have permitted, and nothing else. What God does not do cannot be done wisely. He has not prevented sin; he has given to evil as well as to good a power of self-propagation; he has made it a rule that children shall suffer as well as be blessed for the deeds of their ancestors, and this to the third and the fourth generation. It is a fact beyond all comment amazing, that sin has such self-propagating power as to spread itself from birth beyond what we should say is the range of responsibility for it, and that men should come burdened into the world with the offences of those who went before them. But virtue has equally great and even greater power of self-diffusion. Why could not there have been an upper without an actual under in this free world? Perfectly innocent is many a maniac; perfectly innocent is many a cripple. But not innocent some ancestor whose mischiefs spread by hereditary descent. God allows such things to be, and yet we believe God is perfect.

Archbishop Whately has shown elaborately that all the reasoning which proclaims that sin cannot endure forever proceeds on principles which prove that sin would never be allowed to begin.

Will your unreasoning sentiment stand in this light of science? or is the universe perhaps more complex and serious than you dreamed? I affirm, gentlemen, that all this unscientific sentimentality is best tested by taking it over to a point previous

to the commencement of our present moral system, and applying the reasoning there, fully and fairly. If a sentiment indicates the truth, it will work well there. When I go enswathed in this sentiment into the councils which preceded the formation of this world, I really find myself in a minority there. *Incontrovertibly there is in the universe a different plan than I should think there would be, if I were to follow the lead of this sentiment, which is the secret source of the denial that all character tends to a final permanence.*

Therefore, my friends, as this sentiment fails us when we apply it to a course of facts which we can test, I affirm that it is not safe to take it and apply it to a course of facts which lie beyond the touch of the human spiritual finger-tips. We can reduce this sentiment to absurdity, by applying it to the time before the world was; and therefore I fear that it will turn out an absurdity, if we apply it to the time after the world shall cease to exist. [Applause.]

Yes; but ultimately more good will come if evil is permitted. What! I thought you did not believe that evil is a necessary means of the greatest good! I assumed that you adhered to Theodore Parker's position, that conscience pronounces that evil ought not to be. If evil is the necessary means of the greatest good, then it ought to be. [Applause.]

In any case you will obtain only a painless universe: so we come back precisely to the point where we stood at first, or to the certainty that your marble staircase takes men up no higher than your red-hot iron, and your red-hot iron no higher than they can

ascend on your marble; and so, if the only object of evil in the universe is to take men up, God is not benevolent, for he could take men up painlessly to the same height, and he does not do so. That is the position you must reach at last. It is the stern scientific truth on this theme, that you have no ground in this sentiment for denying that character tends to a final permanence.

Fill the ages with the certainty that all character tends to a free final permanence, which can come but once, and you encourage all virtue, and repress all vice — as the nature of things does. That belief works well, and so deserves coronation. It puts beneath every man who is loyal to duty, the everlasting arms. It makes him glad with the unbounded confidence that all things work together for good to those who love God; and serious in an equally measureless confidence that all things do not work together for good to those who do not.

Theodore Parker once proclaimed in a stray passage, that violation of a moral law may be so bold and persistent as to bring with it penalties that have no remedy. He wrote explicitly: "From my own experience, I know the remorse which comes from conscious violation of my own integrity; from treason to myself and my God. It transcends all bodily pain, all grief at disappointed schemes, all anguish which comes from sickness, ay, from the death of dear ones prematurely taken away. To these afflictions I can bow with a 'Thy will, not mine, be done.' But remorse, the pain of sin, that is my work. This

comes, obviously, to warn us of the ruin which lies before us; for, as the violation of the natural material conditions of bodily life leads to dissolution of the body, so the wilful, constant violation of the natural conditions of spiritual well-being leads to the destruction thereof" (*Sermons on Theism*, p. 404).

This is clear and straightforward; but it is immediately explained away and repudiated by its own author.

If lost souls repent, they in that act cease to be lost. Will Iago repent? Will Mephistopheles repent? Will Milton's Satan repent? What is the definition of perdition? Permanent dissimilarity of feeling with God. That definition does not imply that a man has lost all tendency to respect what is reasonable, but that he never attains predominant love of what God loves. The failure to attain predominant love of what God loves and hate of what God hates is perdition. In the name of the law by which all character tends to final permanence, all science proclaims that Iago and Mephistopheles may fall into permanence of dissimilarity of feeling with God. Salvation in that condition is a natural impossibility, for salvation includes similarity of feeling with God.

Gentlemen, we want truth winnowed by being held up in the breezes that blow out of all quarters of the sky. I take this proposition that it is safe to die as an Iscariot, and I hold it up in the winds that blow out of the centuries of Roman degradation. It suffers a winnowing even then, for the winds whisper

to me, "This teaching would not have cleansed Rome." I hold up the proposition in the winds that blow out of American greed and fraud. The answer is yet more decisive. Safe to die an Iscariot? Safe to die a kidnapper? Safe to die a Cain, with the blood of your brother on your forehead? The scheme does not work well, and it is to be known scientifically and finally by its inevitable fruits.

Thread and cable across the chasm, what is the bridge; and this in one word? It is written in Scripture that there will come a time when in the name of the nature of things it will be proclaimed, "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still." There is to be a day, of which no man or angel knoweth the time, after which the unholy will continue to be unholy, and the holy will continue to be holy. On the last page of the New, as in many another page of the New and Old, and of the Newest and Oldest Testament, the law is proclaimed that all character tends to a final permanence, good as well as bad, and bad as well as good. The written Scriptures end with this explicit declaration, and in it reach their most awful and their most alluring height.

In the great words, "Let him that is unjust be unjust still," the Greek verb implies that the agent in this eternal sin is wholly free, and can blame only himself (ALFORD, Rev. xxii. 11).

The last verity proclaimed in Scripture is thus the natural permanence of moral character, and the certainty that all crystallization of the soul into final

permanence will bring with it its natural wages. The truth that I am afraid of is what all science, what all Scripture, what all human experience affirm, that he who is unholy long enough will be unholy longer; he who is filthy long enough will be filthy longer; and that inveteracy will lead to permanence of voluntary moral remoteness from God; and that this will be its own punishment in the nature of things.

You are at war with the nature of things. Which shall change; you or it? God cannot be an enswathing kiss, without being also a consuming fire. [Applause.]

II.

THE TRINITY A PRACTICAL TRUTH.

A CONSIDERATION OF THE REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE'S CRITICISMS. THE SEVENTY-FIRST LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE MARCH 26.

"Adfirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent." — PLINY, *Epistles*, Lib. x. Ep. 97.

"*Quid verò sentis de iis hominibus, qui Christum non invocant, nec adorandum censent?* Resp. *Prorsùs non esse Christianos sentio, cum Christum non habeant.* Et licet verbis id negare non audeant, reipsâ negant tamen." — RACOVIAN CATECHISM, Ques. 246.

II.

THE TRINITY A PRACTICAL TRUTH.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

One day Prince Bismarck, rolling in triumph toward Paris, had leisure to visit a country school-house; and it was there that he found what he called the saddest sight he saw in France. What was that sight? Some widow with a starving family? Some maimed soldier, the only support of a distant home, about to be left in destitution? Some human form riddled with bullets? None of these, but a set of school-books filled with lies! "I took up the volumes," says this statesman, "and found that the tritest facts as to the religious history of Europe were falsified by Romish editors. Scholarship would stand aghast on every third or fourth page, at the monstrosity of the misrepresentations of acknowledged historical truth." To feed the rising generation with falsehood, Bismarck thought a sadder thing than battle-fields. My friends, I hold in my hands a book, copies of which were lately distributed in quantities at Deer Island, in Massachusetts Bay yonder, by Romish priests. It is important for me, as an out-

look committee, to observe what passes underneath the surface of society; and I know what a formidable frankness I am exercising now. But it is not a bitter frankness: it is in the interest of straightforward discussion, and even of peace; for certainly it is in the interest of peace to let it be known that there are some things which cannot be done in America, and which therefore had better not be attempted! [Applause.] Opening this volume I find not only the boldest violations of historical veracity, but passages plainly intended to inflame uneducated readers: —

"In 1619 a small pool in Cambridge became as red as blood: the water being taken up into basins still kept the same color; and many signs were seen in the air, such as armies fighting one against another. In 1666 many Protestants prophesied the downfall of the Pope on the 2d of September; and, on that very day, a dreadful fire broke out in London, and continued burning three days and three nights" (p. 73).

"It was not unusual to tear the nails from the fingers of the Catholic prisoners, or to batter the heads of the clergy with sticks and stones till their brains were open to view" (p. 38).

"Have not the Protestants holiness of doctrine? By no means; for it is well known that their first preachers taught these wicked and abominable doctrines: 'That God is the author of sin;' 'That man has no free will to enable him to avoid sin;' 'That it is impossible to observe the commandments;' 'That the most enormous crimes do not injure a person in the sight of God'" (p. 19).

"Must not, then, the Protestant Church, instead of leading men to heaven, infallibly lead them to hell? We certainly have too great reason to apprehend it" (p. 100).

"All the saints who are gone to heaven lived and died Roman Catholics" (p. 55).

"Having taken the Devil for his leader, Luther immediately goes to work to pull down the Catholic faith, and build up the Protestant religion. He declares that all the Catholics must be murdered. What! can a man who was mad with lust; who lived in adultery, and caused others to do the same; who wrote most horrid blasphemy, and corrupted the Bible; who was a notorious drunkard, and companion of devils; who was as proud as Satan himself, a preacher of sedition and murder, — what! can this wretch be compared with Christ and Paul? If this man is a Protestant saint, pray what are their sinners?" (pp. 63, 64.)

"Miracles are wrought in the Catholic Church. We know for certain that she comes from God; for no church can do the *miracles* which she doth, except God be with her. John iii. 2" (p. 81).

If you please, gentlemen, this delicious food for the young has been distributed upon Deer Island in plentiful meals. The book is entitled "A Sure Way to find out the True Religion," and is published by Patrick Donahoe of Boston. You will not be surprised to learn, that, after the character of this volume was found out, it was expelled from Deer Island by order of the chairman of the Board of Directors in charge there. [Applause.]

Ought an American prison to have two chaplains, one Romish and one Protestant, both paid by the State? A law has been passed in Massachusetts by which it is provided that freedom of conscience shall be guaranteed to all inmates of penal institutions. This is a very ambiguous law, and one that was intended, I suppose, to be ambiguous; at least, it was engineered through the State House by E. D. Winslow, a very ambiguous man. [Applause.] There is

in that newest legislation no abrogating clause. I am assured by legal authority that the old law stands; and the old law provided in a very sensible way that there should be but one chaplain in one institution. Ask men who have had experience in this matter, and they will tell you that two chaplains under one roof make trouble. The practice of Massachusetts for generations has been to put but one chaplain under one roof; and there is no marked popular demand for the change of that practice. The old law was such that you could appoint a man of any sect chaplain in a penal institution.

The demand often is secretly made, and in a letter lately published by a representative Romanist ("Daily Advertiser," March 22, 1877) it is publicly made in Boston, as it frequently has been in New York and Cincinnati, that in each penal institution there should be two chaplains, after the manner of Austria or France; and of course the implication is, that in America, as in Europe, both should be paid by the State. Yield to that demand, and you will have a division of your public criminal fund. What will come after that? The proposed change means a demand for the division of your school fund. It means a demand for the division of your church fund. It means a demand for the division of your eleemosynary fund. Depart from the American principle, that all sects shall pay their own bills, and you will be obliged to face all these questions that have given so much trouble in those countries where there are State churches.

Of what value is it to tell Americans that two chaplains, each paid by the State, are commonly found in each penal institution in Austria, and France, and Germany, and England? There are State churches in those countries. We have no State church here. There is not the slightest financial connection between State and Church here. We aid no denomination by funds out of the public treasury. Romish ecclesiastics want their chaplains paid by the State. They must learn that they are not in Austria, France, Prussia, or England. *America means that all religious sects, Romanists included, shall pay their own bills. To demand that a sectarian chaplain or schoolmaster be paid by the State, is to act against the whole spirit of American law.*

Ought American policy on this point to be abandoned for European, for the sake of improving prison discipline? Let us be assured that there are several things in America besides prison discipline which the Romish power desires to improve. What will be the result of granting to one sect State aid? Has the sect which asks such exceptional assistance been exceptionally efficient in preventing ignorance, pauperism, and crime? Are a majority of our convicts Romish? If that fact at first sight seems to favor the appointment of Romish chaplains paid by the State, has it not at second sight a look which hints at a truth pointing in quite an opposite direction? We must face all the facts, and I see the force of the few vastly outweighed considerations that may be urged in favor of the European plan. Of

course, prisoners like best the religious instruction to which they have been accustomed; but all infelicities on that point can be removed from prison discipline without sectarian legislation. I am not making objection to Romish priests at Charlestown appearing there, and being of solace to Romish convicts. My proposition is, that we had better not depart from the American principle that *all religious sects, Romanists included, must pay their own bills.* [Applause.] I object to a division of State funds among sectarian State chaplains, and this because the precedent would be the entering wedge for a sectarian division of the school fund. Of course I expect no credit for advocating that proposition until about fifty years hence. I speak for to-morrow, and not for to-day.

Are Romish children in Romish schools, and Romish convicts under Romish chaplains, to have books of this sort put into their hands by State money? It is perfectly pertinent for Massachusetts to ask whether Bismarck was right in saying that the saddest sight he saw was this misleading of the uneducated by the monstrous claim that all history is against Protestantism and in favor of Romanism, and by inciting the prejudices and inflaming the passions of the uneducated. Is it not a thing to be punctured as a bubble not of a glittering sort, — the claim made by Romish leaders that the Protestant Bible is no Bible at all? The scholarship of the world has ridiculed this claim for the last three hundred years. It is admitted that strenuous objection had been made

to the circulation of Protestant Bibles among the Catholic convicts yonder under the shadow of Bunker Hill; and the astounding assertion is put forward that the Protestant Bible is no Bible at all. (See "Advertiser," letter of Mr. Tuckerman, March 22.) Such a statement as that is for the uneducated, and not for the intelligent masses.

What, then, is the outcome of this question? American policy and papal policy differ. It is susceptible of the most exact documentary proof, that the troubles we are on the edge of about our public schools and penal institutions are substantially the result of the conflict between Romish canon law and American national law. When a bishop in the Romish Church takes the oath of his office, the act, as Bismarck and Gladstone understand well, is by no means a mere form, but it makes Romish ecclesiasticism — I do not speak of the Catholic masses — a compact organization indisputably owing its first allegiance to a power on the banks of the Tiber.

The following is the oath of allegiance to the Pope, taken by every archbishop and bishop, and by all who are elevated to positions of official dignity by the Pope: —

"I, N., elect of the Church of N., from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord, the Lord N., Pope N., and to his successors canonically entering. . . . I will help them to defend and keep the Roman Papacy, and the royalties of St. Peter, saving my order against all men. . . . The rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of

our Lord the Pope, and his aforesaid successors, I will endeavor to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. . . . Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said Lord, or his aforesaid successors, I will to my utmost persecute and oppose. . . . I will, by myself in person, visit the threshold of the Apostles every three years, and give an account to our Lord and his aforesaid successors of all my pastoral office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands" (DOWLING'S *History of Romanism*, pp. 615, 616. See also THOMPSON, R. W., *The Papacy and the Civil Power*, p. 717).

Gentlemen, the order of the Romish priesthood is an historical body of which it is trite to say that its organization is astonishingly perfect, and that its power in the cities of America is not likely to diminish speedily if left without check from enlightened public sentiment. These swarming ecclesiastics do not carry weight in the race of life; they are bachelors, and bachelors are dangerous men in the world. They have nothing to do but to attend to their public duties. It is therefore something worth remembering, that all these detached priests among the nations, or the fingers on every continent, are attached to one palm and one wrist; and that this is the power on the Tiber. I wish to draw a wide distinction between Romish citizens and Romish ecclesiastics. There is nothing sure, if it is not certain that the allegiance of the Romish ecclesiastics is not first national, but first papal. First a Catholic, next a German: that has been the secret watch-

word of the Ultramontane party in Germany in the last ten years. That has been the political creed which Bismarck has been ready to contradict at the cannon's mouth. First an Englishman, or first a Catholic? First a Romanist, or first an American? That is the old question which has been debated ever since the time of Philip the Fair.

Pope Boniface wrote to Philip the Fair of France, when France was really more Protestant than now, this letter: "Pope Boniface to Philip the Fair, sends greeting: O Supreme Pontiff, know that thou art subject to us in temporal as well as spiritual things." Philip the Fair replied, "Philip to Boniface, little or no greeting: Know thou, O supreme fool, that in temporal things we are not subject to any one." [Applause.] France echoed the scorn of Philip the Fair to the claim to universal temporal power on the part of the Pope, but to-day she is under the control of the Ultramontane party. Germany stands now where Philip the Fair stood; but it was by a vote of only one, that great, rich Romish Bavaria decided to help Prussia in the war of 1871 against France. One hundred and ninety millions of the human race are yet pacing to and fro in the snows of Canossa. On this distant shore sometimes, when we make ourselves not unduly sensitive, and watch all that passes in cities, the air is chill. Let the schools never be made sectarian. Let the school fund not be divided. Let there be no State Church. [Applause.] But give us two State chaplains, and pay each out of the State fund, and soon we shall

have a demand for two State schoolmasters to be paid out of the State fund. After that precedent, there will be a clamor for State eleemosynary institutions. Will not the pauper as well as the criminal be better off under the direction of his own religious denomination? Will not the pupil improve faster when directed by a teacher of his own religious faith? We must face the whole question of the division of the school fund if we are to face that of the division of the criminal fund among chaplains of various faiths in penal institutions. It is perfectly futile to affirm that there is no line to be drawn, because at the moment you cannot put your finger down, and say precisely where the line ought to be drawn. Somewhere between the thin end of the papal American wedge and the thick or Maximilian end, the line ought to be drawn, and will be drawn. My impression is, that we never shall divide the school fund. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Charles Kingsley, poet and philanthropist, friend of the working-man, and chaplain to the Queen of the British Empire, a stalwart and intense soul, not easily cheated, wrote from St. Leonard's in 1857: "My heart demands the Trinity as much as my reason. I want to be sure that God cares for us, that God is our Father, that God has interfered, stooped, sacrificed himself for us. I do not merely want to love Christ, — *a* Christ, some creation or emanation of God's, whose will and character, for aught I know,

may be different from God's. I want to love and honor the abysmal God himself, and none other will satisfy me. No puzzling texts shall rob me of this rest for my heart, that Christ is the exact counterpart of Him in whom we live and move and have our being. I say boldly, if the doctrine of the Trinity be not in the Bible, it ought to be; for *the whole spiritual nature of man cries out for it.* Have you read Maurice's essay on the Trinity, in his theological essays; addressed to Unitarians? (See Maurice, F. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Univer sity of Cambridge, Theological Essays, pp. 410–441.) If not, you must read it" (CHARLES KINGSLEY, *Letters and Memories of his Life*, 1877, Am. ed., p. 198). In 1865 Kingsley wrote to Maurice: "As to the Trinity, I do understand you. You first taught me that the doctrine was a live thing, and not a mere formula to be swallowed by the undigesting reason; and from the time that I learnt from you that a Father meant a real Father, a Son a real Son, a Holy Spirit a real Spirit, who was really good and holy, *I have been able to draw all sorts of practical lessons from it in the pulpit, and ground all my morality and a great deal of my natural philosophy upon it, and shall do so more*" (*Ibid.*, p. 357).

In 1875 Charles Kingsley, having bidden adieu to Westminster Abbey and Windsor Castle, lay dying; and, with the breath of eternity on his cheeks, the central thought of this modern man was that "only in faith and love to the Incarnate God our Saviour, can the cleverest, as well as the simplest, find the

peace of God, which passes understanding." "In this faith," says his wife, "he had lived,—and as he had lived, so he died,—humble, confident, unbewildered." In the night he was heard murmuring, "No more fighting; no more fighting." Then followed intense earnest prayers, which were his habit when alone. His warfare was accomplished; he had fought the good fight; and, on one of his last nights on earth, his daughter heard him exclaim, "How beautiful God is!" The last morning, at five o'clock, just after his eldest daughter and his physician, who had sat up all night, had left him, and he thought himself alone, he was heard, in a clear voice, repeating the Burial Service: "Thou knowest, O Lord, the secrets of our hearts; shut not Thy merciful ears to our prayer, but spare us, O Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy, merciful Saviour, Thou most worthy Judge Eternal, suffer us not, at our last hour, from any pains of death, to fall from Thee." He turned on his side after this, and never spoke again (*Ibid.*, pp. 481, 482).

This modern martyr, who passed hence at the age of fifty-five, died as martys have died ever since the apostolic age; and I ask you to gaze with proper awe upon this recently unveiled holy of holies, of a brave, late, and adequately cultured life, as a vivid type of what has been happening in the world for eighteen centuries. If you have historic sense, or any other kind of sense, you will not be easily persuaded that teaching which has survived the buffetings of eighteen hundred years, and has been to such

crowned multitudes of the acutest and saintliest of the race, a source of strength in life, and of peace in death, has behind it only philosophical speculation, metaphysical nicety, cold analysis, scholarly precision, without practical application. I affirm in the name of all accredited history,

1. That the doctrine of the Trinity has always been held by Orthodoxy for its practical value.

2. That it was the doctrine of the Trinity which excluded from power, in human cultured beliefs, the thought of God as fate, and brought in the organizing and redemptive idea of God's fatherhood, and especially of the possibility of the communion of men with God as personal.

The scholarship of the Roman Empire shook off its belief in the fatalism of Paganism by learning the doctrine of the Trinity. Incontrovertibly, the divine aroma of communion with God, as personal, was breathed into history from the lips of that philosophy which speaks of God under a Triune name. Historically, this teaching has borne these fruits; and the law of the survival of the fittest makes me, for one, reverent toward a proposition which, in so many ages, in so many moods of the world's culture, in such different circumstances of individual growth, has exhibited a power ever fresh, and has yet been the same from the time when the apostolic benediction was pronounced in the Triune name to the last anthem that rolled around the world in that same name. (See Huntington, Bishop, "Christian Believing and Living," pp. 359–361.) With the goodly company

of the prophets and the apostles; with the martyrs of the earliest Christian ages; with the earlier and the later Fathers; with the strong scholars who, differing on much else, are on this truth essentially and persistently at one; with the Continental and English reformers, and the Anglican and Puritan and American divines; with Athanasius and Tholuck, with Fénelon and Knox, with Augustine and Anselm, with Calvin and Wesley, with Luther and Bossuet, with Bull and Baxter, Horsley and Howe, Pearson, Newman, Pascal, Cudworth, Wolf, Butler, Tauler and Hopkins, Waterland, Edwards, Sherlock and Dwight, Park and Neander; with Nice, Trent, Augsburg, Westminster, Edinburgh, Leipzig, Berlin, Princeton, New Haven, and Andover, shall not Boston say, Let the anthem roll on? [Applause.]

It is amazing to me that any one can have considered my definition of the Trinity as Unitarian. A man whom I honor, and whose candor every one honors, is reported ("Daily Advertiser," March 26, outline of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke's discourse, March 25) to have said publicly, that the view presented here two weeks ago is "almost identical" with his own; and is such as "any Unitarian may readily receive." I am very glad if it is; but, as I understand Mr. Clarke's view, the one presented here and his differ by celestial diameters. [Applause.] What is the definition which this Lectureship has presented?

1. The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one and only one God.

2. Each has a peculiarity incommunicable to the others.

3. Neither is God without the others.

4. Each with the others is God.

On the street in this city I met, a few days ago, a scholar whom I suppose to be the best authority in America in early ecclesiastical history. Before I had introduced the topic at all, he said to me, with much emphasis, "I have documentary evidence in my possession to prove that your doctrine of the Trinity is the view held in the first four centuries." Two days ago, on the street, I met a theologian whose knowledge of the relations of Christian truth to philosophy seems to me to be unequalled in this country. He said to me, without any introduction of the topic on my part, "That definition of the Trinity which you have given will stand." He made this affirmation twice or thrice; and, in order to be sure that he had really paid attention enough to this poor Lectureship to know what the definition was, I recited the four propositions; and again he said in effect, "The storm in the past has been borne by that definition or its equivalent, and you will find that the storm of the future will be."

But, gentlemen, it is not by authority that I desire to buttress up any definition. *It is not a definition that I wish to give, but a life.* In the hushed atmosphere of religious science, we invite hither no breath of the unsanctified north wind which has too often blighted Eastern Massachusetts on holy themes. Let a fascinating devoutness lock hands with a fascinating

clearness, or no discussion can transmute truth into life. Let luminousness of thought and the whole clustered growth of the divine emotions twine around our lives, as the vines wreathed themselves around the caduceus of Mercury of old; and even then we shall not be ready to study religious science, unless we have, as Mercury had, on feet and shoulders, the wings of the Spirit to enable us to fly whithersoever the Spirit calls. [Applause.]

There are seven tests which any definition of the Trinity must meet. It must not be modalistic nor unintelligible; it must not be tritheistic nor Unitarian, it must not be a contradiction in terms nor unhistorical; and, above all, it must not be unscriptural. [Applause.]

The definition given here is not *modalistic;* that is, it does not represent God as simply three manifestations, nor yet as three modes of being, considered merely as modes. How can it be proved that the definition is not modalistic?

1. It teaches that each subsistence has a peculiarity incommunicable to the others.

2. It asserts that each subsistence, with the others, is God; and that neither, without the others, is God.

3. Therefore it asserts in strict terms the Deity of our Lord. Does Mr. Clarke assert that? I hope he does. [Applause.]

4. What is said of Christ in this definition can be said of no human being.

If Socrates had never existed, God would yet be God.

But, if the Holy Spirit had never existed, God would not be God.

If Christ had never existed, God would not be God.

If the Father had never existed, God would not be God.

So, too, Socrates, with the Father and Son, or with the Son and Holy Spirit, or with the Father and Holy Spirit, is not God.

But Christ, with the other two subsistences, is God.

Is it thought that according to this definition God was in Socrates, and in Moses, and in Plato, and in every great, devout soul; and that therefore there is a sense in which divinity or deity may be attributed to these loftiest of the human sort? Mr. Clarke, I have been told, thinks all that is in my definition. I do not see that there; for, according to this definition, Socrates with the Father and Son, or with the Son and Holy Spirit, or with the Father and Holy Spirit, is not God. Let us perfectly understand ourselves here, once for all. Is Socrates, with any two subsistences which we suppose exist in the Trinity, God? If so, you may say that, according to this definition, as God was in Christ, so he was in Socrates. But in the name of clear thought you will never say that; for Christ with the other two subsistences is here affirmed to be God; and each of the subsistences with the others is God; but no human spirit has such qualities that you may make concerning it assertions parallel to these.

5. What is affirmed of Christ in the definition can be said of no created being, however high in rank.

If the highest of the archangels had never existed, God would yet be God.

But, if either of the three subsistences in the Trinity had never existed, God would not be God; for, according to this definition, neither subsistence is God without the others.

So, too, the highest of the archangels with the Father and Son, or with the Son and Holy Spirit, or with the Father and Holy Spirit, is not God.

But Christ, with the other two subsistences, is God.

It is therefore futile to charge this definition with being modalistic. There is no clearness of thought on any theme, if it be not clear that our Lord, according to this definition, displayed a degree of being that was deific. How can a man who holds that definition be charged with holding that Socrates and Isaiah and Plato are to be named in the same list with our Lord? Is it not unspeakably shocking, merely to the historic, to say nothing of the religious, sense of man; is it not a silly disloyalty to all the incontrovertible facts which reveal Christ's present influence in the world, to run up, in the light style of literary æsthetics, a list from Socrates to Christ, and so on, until, when the vexed catalogue of merely human beings becomes confessedly rather unimportant, you read in the discussions of some that the future is to be drawn on? "We have not quite

equalled Him who spake as never man spoke; but we shall! Better things are coming!" How shocking that is to sobriety of all kinds, intellectual and emotional! Historic, to say nothing of religious devoutness, stands aghast at any such contravention of the straightforward reasoning of Napoleon at St. Helena. *Admit, however, as the scientific method requires you to do, that Christ was so exceptional a soul that God was in him in a thoroughly exceptional manner; admit with Rousseau that he lived a sinless life; admit with the most scholarly of modern infidels, that God was in him in such a sense as he never was in any other created being: admit this, and you have conceded enough to prove that you logically ought to regard this exceptionally holy and wise Being, as veracious; and therefore that you, in consistency with your own admissions, ought to accept Christ's testimony concerning Himself. Take that, as re-enforced by the testimony of the ages to His work in the world, and perhaps you will not be at a loss for reasons for changing your word "divinity" into "deity," if you are logical.* [Applause.] Leibnitz said that those who deny the Deity of our Lord, and yet pray to him, may be good men, but that surely they are not good logicians. [Applause.]

The definition is not *unintelligible*, for the incommunicable peculiarity is defined by several very distinct traits.

Ages of close discussion lie behind the assertions I am making, and you will not think it the temerity of extemporaneous speech for me to recite these propositions rapidly. The ages of discussion make it

necessary that I should be cautious; they make it unnecessary that I should be prolix.

1. The peculiarity of each subsistence is incommunicable.

2. It is such that neither subsistence taken alone, wholly without the other subsistence, is God.

3. It is such that each subsistence is of the same dignity as the others.

4. It is such that each subsistence is of the same substance with the others.

5. It is such that the chief office of one subsistence is best expressed by the words Creator and Father; of a second subsistence, by the words Redeemer and Son; and of a third, by the words Sanctifier and Comforter.

6. It is such that each subsistence, with the others, is God.

Beyond these six traits, it is neither necessary nor possible to define the subsistences.

Will you explain to me every thing in connection of mind and matter? Will you so illustrate the structure of the human spirit, that there shall be no mystery hanging over the border-land between the immaterial and the material? Can you in philosophy obviate all the difficulties arising from the limitations of the human faculties? Read your Mansel, your Hamilton, your Kant, and your Lotze, on the relations of attribute to substance. Can substance exist aside from attribute? Has any one a perfectly distinct idea of what substance is, wholly apart from its attributes? Until you get rid of all mystery in

the fields of thought purely philosophical, do not say, when we come to realms of existence immeasurably higher above our own than the noon is above the brightness of the transient gleam of the firefly in the summer's meadow, that we shall not find some things inexplicable to our present capacities! If God were perfectly explicable to a finite being, he would not be God.

Merely on account of any mystery left in this portion of the doctrine of the Trinity after these six specifications have been made, you cannot reject a truth which stands here to-day guaranteed by eighteen centuries of good fruits. We know some things, although we do not know all things, about the character of the subsistences. Nobody ever pretended to know all the facts about either of them. Moses Stuart used to refuse with emphasis all appeals to him to define the words "person," "distinction," "subsistence." He held the doctrine of the Trinity most emphatically; but, beyond the truths now enumerated, it is unscriptural, and it is clearly unphilosophical, for a man to pretend to be wise above the range of the human faculties.

What is the difference between a mystery and a contradiction? A mystery is something of which we know *that* it is, although we do not know *how* it is. A self-contradiction is the inconsistency of a proposition with itself or with its own implications. If there is in the doctrine of the Trinity a self-contradiction, we must throw its propositions overboard in the name of learning and of clear thought. But, if there

be in it only a mystery, that may be no objection; for a mystery is merely something of which we know *that* it is, although we do not know *how* it is. I know *that* the grass grows: I do not know *how* it grows. I know *that* my will lifts my arm: I do not know *how* it does this. There is mystery in each of these cases; but the mystery does not hinder my believing the facts, although I do not know how they are to be explained. Mystery belongs to physical almost more than to religious truth. We should expect it to appear oftener in religious science than in physical, as the topics of the former are incalculably vaster and more complex than those of the latter; and yet it is a question whether your Tyndalls and your Huxleys do not call on you to believe more mysteries than your Butlers, your Edwardses, and your Channings. [Applause.]

The definition is not *tritheistic;* for,

1. It asserts that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one, and only one, God.

2. It denies that either, taken wholly without the others, is God.

Therefore, according to this definition, there are not three Gods. The definition does not in terms assert, but it does imply, that there are not in God three wills, three sets of affections, three consciences, three intellects. According to the Scriptures, are there not in God such subsistences, that when it is said that the Father sends the Son, and that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, *some portion of the action involved in these events may*

not be common to all the three subsistences? I think so. If you will be careful in your phraseology, and not say that there are literally three wills, three sets of affections, three intellects, — if you will simply say that some portion of the action involved in the sending of the Son, or in the shedding forth of the Holy Spirit, may not be common to all the three subsistences, — you will be asserting only what is affirmed in the second proposition of this definition; namely, that each subsistence has a peculiarity incommunicable to the others.

But I will resist, in the name of the mass of scholarship for the last fifteen hundred years, the proposition that there are in God three persons in a strict, colloquial, literal, modern, English, American, Boston sense. [Applause.] Why do I resist that? Because the word person, in our colloquial speech, implies a species. What is a species? When you say a man is a person, you imply that he belongs to a class of beings called men. If you say there are three *persons* in God, and mean by that word just what you mean by it on the street and in the parlor, you assume that these persons are individuals in a species; and my reply is that there is no species of Gods outside of polytheism. There is nothing of the sort known to either scriptural or scientific truth. No doubt Orthodoxy has often been careless in her phrases. Under the rubric of *idle words* many a stupid and many an incautious expression used in religious and philosophical discussion will, no doubt, be judged at the last day. [Applause.] But it is

not stupidity, it is not incautiousness, which causes Orthodoxy to use the word person sometimes. She is always speaking Latin when she uses that word intelligently. She employs it as a technical term, because it has been in the creeds of the Church fifteen hundred years. Adopted in the days of the poverty of the Latin language, it has come down to the days of the richness of the English tongue. Calvin himself said he would be willing that the word person should be dropped forever out of the discussions of the doctrine of the Trinity, if only the truth could be retained that there are in God three distinctions, each with a peculiarity or a property incommunicable to the others, and each, with the others, God. For three hundred years the definition I have been putting before you, or its equivalent, has been generally regarded as the standard. But, if by persons you understand individuals, you must admit that you cannot make three persons, John, William, and James, one. There is a sense in which each individual, which we describe by the word person in its ordinary sense, is incommunicable, as a whole, to any other individual. This idea of personality, as the word is understood on the street and in the parlor, does not belong to the idea of the three subsistencies in the Trinity. Scholarship has always taught that God is one, and has never taught that William and John and James are one. God is one essence or substance. Three persons, in the usual sense of the word, are not of one substance. It is the immemorial teaching of religious science,

that we must not divide the substance of God; and we do this whenever we say that there are in God three persons in the literal, modern, colloquial sense of that word. When the popular is substituted for the technical meaning of this term, men who have little time for thought on the subject are confused, and led to suppose that you are teaching self-contradictions, or that God is three, and that he is only one, and that he is one in the same sense in which he is three. Here in Eastern Massachusetts, on the battle-fields of Unitarianism and Trinitarianism, it is high time that this misapprehension should cease to have any excuse for itself in the carelessness of the phrases used in Orthodox quarters. Say three substances; three distinctions, each with a peculiarity incommunicable to the others; but not three wills, not three sets of affections, not three intellects. Such, however, is the force of the proposition that each substance has a peculiarity incommunicable to the others, that I am not unwilling to affirm that in the whole range of activities involved in God's connection with men there are influences which are not common to all the subsistences. This is Biblical truth; and this truth is in this definition, which, therefore, as scholars will allow me to say, avoids Patripassianism as well as Modalism.

There are four expressions that can be used, — "All the attributes;" "Some of the attributes;" "Property;" "Peculiarity." Some men say, "All the attributes of one subsistence may be, for aught we know, different from those belonging to either of the

other subsistences." Others say, "Some attributes differ." Yet others affirm, "Properties differ." But the word which has been used here is "peculiarity." Why do I adopt that word? Because, if I use "property," instantly arise all the celebrated forms of speculation about the connection of "substance" and "property," and you may find yourselves befogged by merely philosophical difficulties. "All attributes," "some attributes," "property," "peculiarity," — that last is the word employed in the definition used here, and the word which I believe will bear not only the microscope and the scalpel of philosophy, but the blaze of the infinity of Biblical truth. [Applause.]

Have there not been teachers who have held that there are three wills in God? Yes. Have there not been in New England intelligent Christians who have worshipped three beings in imagination, although in their thoughts they have asserted that God is one? I fear there have been, and that there are yet. Is this, however, the standard doctrine of Christianity, or the more general teaching of the Church? By no means. Is that divided mood which you find among some, of looking into Judæa for our Lord, and into heaven for the Father, and into the space between the earth and heaven for the vague somewhat which we call the Holy Spirit, Biblical? Not as I read the Scriptures. Are we to regard those as well-educated Christians, who, in thoughts of God, are constantly thinking of our Lord as if he were at this hour in Gethsemane, or on the Mount of

Olives, or walking on the shore of Galilee; and of the Father as among the constellations; and of the Holy Spirit as shed down on us from the infinite spaces: three wills, three intellects, three sets of affections? You may regard such Christians tenderly; but, for one, I regard them tenderly enough to wish that they might be both more Biblical and more scientific. [Applause.] Notice the mood of this audience, which is made up of men in whose presence I speak with bated breath, and which has assembled in a city that has heard, I suppose, more on this theme than any other one city on the globe, except old Rome or Alexandria. It is not pleasant to me to dwell on topics that require us to walk over embers hardly cold; but I belong to a generation that had nothing to do with the discussions that divided God's house in Eastern Massachusetts. The time has come for antagonistic beliefs to attend to each other's definitions, and not to each other's defamations. [Applause.] Seriousness in speech or print usually spends its time more profitably than in gymnastic boxing. Shall we not in the transfigured mood of Boston at this hour call ourselves into God's presence, as he was visible to Stephen, and to Paul, and to John, not on the Mount of Olives, not on the shore of Galilee, but at the right hand of the Father? Let us grasp the transfiguring Biblical certainty that the influences of the Holy Spirit are Christ's continued life. You will not understand me to deny for an instant that our Lord's earthly life and sufferings are a better revelation to

us of God's moral attributes than external nature is or can be. Christ is the rainbow, or unravelled light, and the Father is the white light; and *we must look on the seven colors if we would know what is always in the white beam.* Thus our Lord's life and sufferings on earth are to be constantly before us as a picture of the Divine Nature. But the influences of the Holy Spirit are a present Christ, and God is not three, but one. Our Lord himself is now in heaven and here; and, though we look to Judæa for one part of His life, we must beware how we look there, as Stephen and Paul did not, for the whole of it or for Him. Though the rainbow has ceased to appear, it has not ceased to exist; it has been taken back into the bosom of the general radiance, and yet falls on the earth. *Wherever white light falls, the rainbow falls potentially.* The luminousness, the color, and the heat, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three subsistences in one substance, all enswathe us here and now, and make the present hour sacred as the beginning of days; for there is but one God, who was, and is, and is to come.

Mr. Clarke is reported as saying that, "if God is seen and shown in Christ as he is seen and shown in Nature, there is no reason for considering one as more divine than the other. God is *in* Christ, and we may worship God as shown to us in Christ. But so is God also *in* Nature, and we may worship God as shown to us in Nature. God is in Christ, and God is in Nature; but that does not make Nature or Christ God, but only manifestations of him."

Here are two meanings in the one word "nature," a term that has behind it the most mischievous ambiguity, and is perhaps the least innocent bewildering fog in the whole range of philosophical discussion. By nature, what do you mean? The sun and the moon? Of course we do not worship these: we are not Persians. But if by nature you mean that Power of Intelligence and Choice which is behind all natural law, we do worship the God revealed by the Oldest Testament, or the Nature of Things. [Applause.] But this we understand to be the very God revealed by the New Testament and the Newest. "All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made that is made." "He is before all things, and by him all things consist." These are words written rather earlier than the year 325; and you say (see CLARKE, *Orthodoxy*, p. 508) that there was no doctrine of the Trinity until after this date.

Is it affirmed that we must worship God in conscience? What do you mean by conscience? The human part of the intuitive moral sense, or that divine Somewhat or Some One who is revealed by the moral law, and is in us, but not of us? If you mean the latter, we do, in the name of every text in the Oldest and the Old, the Newest and the New Testament, worship it as "the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." [Applause.] But of that light we read that in the beginning it was with God, and was God.

To worship God as in all natural law is not to

set natural law above God. What is natural law? The method of action of God's will. Can God's will be above God's will? Even your Maurice says that the Greek from the Thessalian hill heard the voice of God, but mistook it for that of Fate. The old polytheists made Necessity the highest God. Undoubtedly, fixed law is, from one point of view, a revelation of the highest force in the universe; and it becomes us, as stern cultivators of science, to reverence this quite measurelessly important fact. But what the old Greek at Delphi regarded as fate, we have come to regard as the unchanging, because perfectly holy and wise choice, of Almighty God. It must be that an infinite Being knows what the one best way is in which to manage the universe, and that he will choose and adhere to that way. There can be but one best way to manage the universe. If that self-evident truth is not a part of the nature of things, what is? [Applause.] The Oldest Testament is fearfully orthodox. [Applause.] We know that there can be but one best way, for best is a superlative word, and admits no comparison; and that this one best way Omnipotence and Omniscience will choose and adhere to. Therefore, in the eternities and infinities governed by a perfect Will, there will appear to be fate; but there will be there in reality only the completely wise and holy, and therefore unchanging, choice of Almighty God. Your Oldest Testament says the nature of things is without variableness or shadow of turning. But when your New and your Newest Testament speak of the

Father of Lights, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift, they affirm also that, although he is Father, he is without variableness or shadow of turning. We worship one God, but a God free and above all things — except what? The requirements of his own perfections. Theodore Parker used to stand on a platform not five hundred feet from this, and say, God cannot make two and two one thousand. Such is God, that he cannot choose to do what ought not to be done. He cannot deny himself. A moral impossibility inheres in the nature of a Perfect Being. The cans and cannots of all science spring out of the impossibilities existing in a Perfect Nature.

Mr. Clarke says that "Christianity teaches not the sovereignty of the nature of things, but the sovereignty of the divine love;" and another liberal critic has affirmed, that, if God be such a Being as the New Testament represents him to be, he will make short work with the nature of things. What astounding confusion of thought is this, and what misunderstanding of the Oldest Testament and the Old, the Newest and the New! God make short work with the nature of things! What is the nature of things? By definition it is the total outcome of the Divine perfections. God make short work with his own infinite justice and holiness, his own intellectual excellence, and with all that is implied in the infinitude of the Divine nature! What we call the nature of things is but another name for all the requirements of the Divine free choice; and is an infinitely perfect Being to make short work of that? God himself making

short work with the nature of things? God a suicide? These phrases mean the same thing. *It will be of importance for you and me to have no war with the nature of things until the day when God ceases to be God.*

The definition is in no sense *Unitarian;* for

1. It asserts the Deity of our Lord. There is no form of Unitarianism which asserts this.

2. We have seen that what is said of Christ in the definition can be said of no created being.

It is not a *contradiction in terms;* for it does not assert that God is one in the same sense in which he is three, nor three in the same sense in which he is one.

It is not *unhistorical;* for it presents a view of the Trinity consistent with all the greatest symbols in use in the Church for fifteen hundred years.

It is not *unscriptural.* In the celebrated discussions between Unitarianism and Trinitarianism in Eastern Massachusetts, the proof-texts of the Deity of our Lord, adduced by Moses Stuart in his letters to Channing, have never been answered. Andrews Norton made many philosophical objections to the Trinity, which do not apply at all to the best definition of it. No one has ever shown that the Scriptural passages Moses Stuart adduced do not have the meaning he attributed to them. (See STUART, PROFESSOR, *Letters to Channing.*)

We are assured by the scientific method, that in no page of that portion of the volume of the universe which is open to us, is there any light we can

spare. Science and practical life alike require that we should be loyal to all the facts within our view. It is incontrovertible, that, when we look into all our light, *a* Trinity is within view. Contemplated closely, *a* Trinity is found to be *the* Trinity. External Nature, History, and Conscience reveal God as Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier, and yet as one. Therefore, we open all the windows of the outer and inner azure by the truth of the Trinity of the Divine Nature. This is the historic force which changed the sky of brass and iron, which bent above the Thessalian hill, into soft azure, all soul and not sky. The inaccessible heaven which stood above Olympus comes near now, and enswathes all the round worlds in its bosom. But some would build negations above our heads into an obstructing dome, and confine us to a fragmentary view of the Divine Nature. There are two kinds of Unitarianism. One looks through but a single window vividly, and sees from it well only God the Father. In this view there is a simplicity which is pleasing to many. For a time it may be a devout view, especially in modern days with full Christianity behind them and pouring through them, and in these yet early New England years, with Plymouth Rock and all the generations since our fathers landed, to give moods of devoutness to the generation now passing off the stage. There are wants of life, however, which no one quarter of the sky taken alone can meet. History teaches that in the growth of the flowers which blossom against that one window, there is apt to be, in the third or

fourth generation, a want of vigor, and a subtle loss of plainly celestial aromas. But there is another and wider belief in the Divine Unity, a Window that has the sun all the day. Sweep off the whole dome, and you open God's Window; behold Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as one undivided heaven of equal height at every point of its pulsating, fathomless azure, whose light and color and heat, although three subsistences, are one substance, and you have God's Unitarianism. [Applause.]

[After a doxology had been rendered by the organ, the audience rose, and Mr. Cook said,] A question has been put into my hands, which I will answer on the spot: "How do you reply to Mr. Clarke's objection that the 'peculiarity' of each 'subsistence' is either something imperfect, or something perfect? If the latter, then each 'subsistence' lacks a perfection: if the former, the consequence is obvious." The reply is, that the definition asserts that neither subsistence taken alone is God. Each subsistence taken by itself, and wholly without the others, is imperfect in that sense. The three taken together are God; and to the idea of Unity thus defined such an objection is not applicable at all.

III.

THE TRINITY, THE MARTYR'S FAITH.

THE SEVENTY-SECOND LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE APRIL 2.

Cum ictibus ungularum concussa fortius latera sulcarentur profluensque sanguinis unda violentis tractibus emanaret, Proconsulem sibi dicentem audivit: Incipies sentire quæ vos pati oporteat. Et adjecit: Ad gloriam. Gratias ago Deo regnorum. Apparet regnum æternum, regnum incorruptum. Domine Jesu Christe, Christiani sumus; Tibi servimus; Tu es spes nostra; Tu es spes Christianorum; Deus sanctissime; Deus altissime; Deus omnipotens." — RUINART, *Acta*, p. 340.

"Christianorum est etiam deum mortuum credere, et tamen viventum in ævo ævorum." — TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marc.*, 11, 16.

III.

THE TRINITY, THE MARTYR'S FAITH

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

In the city of Edinburgh the American evangelists who are now in Boston never had a hall that would seat over fifteen hundred. They reached the Scottish metropolis Nov. 22, 1873, and left it Jan. 21, 1874. They have now been here as long as they were in Edinburgh. It will always be incontrovertible, that a structure which holds from six thousand to seven thousand people has been opened in Boston for religious audiences, and that week after week for two months, on every fair day, and often twice or thrice a day, when an undiluted Christianity has been proclaimed there, this Boston building has been filled to copious overflowing. *What other cause would have filled it as often and as long?* This is the large question which Edinburgh and London, Chicago and San Francisco, will ask. As a help to an interior view of Massachusetts and its capital, it is not improper for me to state, what the evangelists themselves could not perhaps with propriety say publicly, that their opinion is that in

Boston the average result of their work has been better than it was in Edinburgh. Both the evangelists have expressed, with detailed reasons and emphasis, that opinion to me; and neither of them has asked me to state the opinion publicly.

Harvard and Yale each strenuously opposed George Whitefield, and each now regrets its opposition. Did you notice that the revered president of Boston University was reported as having silenced a group of critics at the obsolescent Chestnut-street club the other day, by an invulnerable indorsement of the general character of the religious work now being performed in this city? This indorsement came from a scholar of whom it can be said, as I think it cannot be of any other New England president of a college, that before he finished his yet recent German studies he had written in German an elaborate work on religious science, abreast of the latest thought. Boston University, led by this incomparable scholar of the freshest and severest German training, is as cordial toward the American evangelists as the great University of Edinburgh was. When Phillips Brooks appears in the Tabernacle, the culture of Boston and the students of Harvard are there. Of course Harvard University differs from Edinburgh University in its religious attitude; and for that fact there are reasons, prolonged, historic, adequate, but, thank God, of waning force! When James VI. was sixteen years of age, in 1582, Edinburgh University was founded; and it was fed from the Scottish universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow, which began their

stalwart career before America was discovered. University life in Scotland had venerableness when Harvard was yet in the gristle. It has had a longer time than Harvard in which to judge creeds by the law of the survival of the fittest. It is wiser, therefore; but Harvard one day will be wise under that law. [Applause.]

Are there any points of superiority in this religious awakening to that which occurred in Boston in the days of Whitefield? It must be admitted that there are some points of inferiority, but are there any of superiority? We are a larger and more heterogeneous community now than we were then; we are fuller of commercial activity; our heads are in newspapers and ledgers, and not as the heads and hearts of the early New England fathers were, in the Holy Scriptures. Nevertheless it was a temporarily demoralized community which Whitefield and Edwards addressed. A practical union of Church and State had so secularized religious society, that it had sunk farther away from Scriptural and scientific ideals than such society in New England has since done. We all hold now that the ministry ought to be made up of converted men, and that no one should become a member of the church unless he can give credible evidence of having entered upon a religious life. But in Whitefield's day it was necessary for him to insist upon what is now a commonplace truth, that conversion should precede entrance upon the ministry and church-membership. In Edwards's day, many circles of the New England population

had forgotten the necessity of the new birth, or did not believe that it is an ascertainable change; and so there was a hush in the revival when Whitefield was here, a sense of sin which ought to exist now, but which probably does not for a great variety of reasons, not all of them to be classed as proofs of the shallowness of the present effort. Would that we had such loyalty to the scientific method, as to have an adequate sense of our dissonance with the nature of things! It were good for us and for America if we had in Boston to-day just that far-penetrating gaze which filled the eyes of New England one hundred years ago, as Whitefield and Edwards turned our fathers' countenances toward the Unseen Holy!

In one particular, however, this revival certainly surpasses that under Whitefield in this city in 1740; namely, in the extent to which types have been consecrated to the work of sending religious truths abroad through the newspaper press. All the leading and all the respectable newspapers of Boston have favored the revival. [Applause.] It is well, my friends, that you should give encouragement to the hardest-worked class in your community, the reporters. Not only day and night, but day inside of day, and night inside of night, making two hours out of every one, these men are obliged to follow with lightning speed the demands of the press for copy — of what? Of the dullest of all things on earth to report, — sermons. [Applause.] English, German, and French travellers say very suggestively, that the characteristic of American newspaper man-

agement, as distinguished from European, is that we are willing to print sermons copiously on Monday mornings. No doubt it pays to publish such discourses; but I am not one of those who think that the critics are right who judge acutely that Mr. Sankey's chief motive in life is to sell a great number of his song-books and organs. Neither am I of the opinion that all the space the daily newspaper press gives to religious truth is the result of a whisper from the counting-room. Let us be just to the corporations that manage our newspapers, and not accuse them of being altogether mercenary. No doubt counting-rooms are sometimes hung around the necks of editors, as millstones around the necks of babes in the waves; and it takes a giant like Horace Greeley to be at once a reformer and an editor. It is easier for the platform than for the press to speak for to-morrow against the dissent of to-day. The best part of our press, however, not only mirrors but leads public sentiment, and speaks for to-morrow against the rivalry of the poorer part of both platform and press, which speak only for to-day. *Encourage all speakers for to-morrow.* [Applause.]

In the next place, it deserves to be mentioned, that religious visitation from house to house, and especially among the perishing and degraded, is now going forward in a hopefully thorough manner in Boston. Gentlemen, I hold in my hands a statement communicated to me officially; and I am able to assure you that two thousand persons are now devoting a large part of their time in this city to religious visitation

among the poor. The list of streets and lanes given to these workers was made out by Sampson and Davenport, the publishers of the city Directory. In no other population has there been a more effective arrangement for visitation than here. God be thanked that every lane is to be seen, and that superfluity and squalor are to look into each other's eyes! Of one hundred and ten evangelical churches in this city, ninety have already signified their intention to cooperate in this work. Each pastor of these ninety churches has appointed gentlemen to oversee the work undertaken by his particular church; for instance, on Beacon Hill, in the Mount Vernon Church, where our American evangelist heard the truth effectively for the first time from the lips of the now sainted Kirk, men like Nazro and Merriam are appointed on this business. Is there any one with head or heart shallow enough to sneer at such proceedings? You will sneer, then, at the best executive talent of Boston. [Applause.] There are seventy thousand families within the limits of Boston, and there have been workers appointed to cover sixty-five thousand of these families. In Boston I include Charlestown, East Boston, South Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Brighton. We are to look on this work as performed by picked men and women. There is no quarter of this city so degraded by unreportable vice that it is not being visited by women; lineal descendants, no doubt, of those whom Tacitus says our German forefathers honored as recipients of special illumination from heaven.

The saloons are being visited, and the report now coming in is that the visitors are kindly received; and you will find every now and then a visitor saying, "There are in my district fifteen cases of interest, or persons seriously inquiring how they can get rid of vice, and enter upon a manly or womanly life; and I am to follow these cases up." Remember that this work of visitation is intended not merely for those who are outside of the circle of glad loyalty to religious truth, but for those who are nominally inside of that circle, and are yet inefficient. Nothing quickens a man like trying to quicken another. If there is one measure in which our American evangelist has shown his generalship more effectively than anywhere else, it is in setting men to work, and in so setting them to work as to set them on fire. [Applause.]

But, gentlemen, what are we to say of the prayer-meetings among business-men, which have not yet attained their height, and yet are already visible at a distance? It is my privilege and joy to be a flying scout in New England. One morning last week, I woke up to the sound of the swollen and impetuous Androscoggin, and in the course of the day passed through Portland, and Portsmouth, and Newburyport, and Salem, and Boston, and Worcester, and Springfield, to Hartford; and all along I had evidence by conversation, and by looking at the local papers, that these business-men's meetings in Boston are visible from the Androscoggin, and from the Connecticut. You have in this Temple a very interesting

meeting, which was never matched for weight in Edinburgh. There are crowded prayer-meetings at high noon for men engaged in the dry-goods business, for men in the furniture trade, for men in the market, for men in the fish trade, for newspaper men, for all classes, indeed, of our throbbing, tumultuous, breathless, business community. This, if you will notice the fact, is Boston. When I stated on this platform a few weeks ago, that you would see Boston visited as you had seen other cities visited, you did not receive the affirmation with a smile of incredulity; but the public did. That poor prophecy has been fulfilled, and we have a month more for work. [Applause.]

If you please, the times are serious; and light sneers will do no good now, and ought not to be noticed by me except in pity. It was my fortune professionally to walk down to a church near the Tabernacle yesterday morning, to give an Easter discourse. As I passed up the street, I met a deluge, not of rain, such as has diminished the audiences in the Tabernacle occasionally, — the month of March is a great enemy to large assemblies, — but a crowd of people emerging from I did not at first think where, until I remembered that the Tabernacle service had just closed. They covered acres, and came on in thousands, like the crowds of a gala-day. I noticed their faces; for the best test of what has been done in a religious address, in any assembly, is to study the countenances of the audience as it disperses. If you see a softened, an ennobled, a "solar

look," to use one of the phrases of Bronson Alcott [turning to Mr. Alcott, who sat at the speaker's right], one may be sure that religious truth has done good. I saw the solar look yesterday on the street, in hundreds and thousands of faces; I saw it sometimes in the gaze of shop-girls, perhaps.

Yes, but high culture in Boston does not care much for shop-girls. Well, it is time it should. [Applause.] There is a low-bred, loaferish liberalism, uttering itself occasionally in sneers because the poor have the gospel preached to them. That sneer has been heard ever since the days of Celsus, and the games in the old Coliseum; and it has a peculiarly reptilian ring. [Applause.] There are many kinds of liberalism. Christian liberalism I honor; literary and æsthetic liberalism is to be spoken of with respect, in most cases; but below what I have called a limp and lavender, and unscientific liberalism, there is a low-bred and loaferish liberalism. This, in Boston, has impudence, but no scholarship; rattles, but no fangs. [Applause.] In the great multitude, the solar look is the best prophecy that can be had for the American future. It is a radiance that is like the rising of the sun, to any man who is anxious about what is to come in America.

After noticing that look, and thanking God for it, I walked on, and happened to pass a lonely Boston corner, where the Paine Hall and the Parker Memorial Hall stand near each other, "*par nobile fratrum.*" On a bulletin on the Paine Hall, the street in front of which looked deserted, I read: "Chil-

dren's Progressive Lyceum Entertainment this evening;" "The Origin and Amusements of the Orthodox Hell;" "Twenty-ninth Anniversary of Modern Spiritualism, *April 1.*" [Laughter and applause.] Passing by the Parker Memorial Hall, where, no doubt, words of good sense have been uttered occasionally, I found in the window this statement: "To-night, a lecture on the Arctic Regions, with a stereopticon and seventy views."

Gentlemen, all over the world, the equivalent of the scene I saw on that Easter morn may be looked upon almost everywhere within the whole domain of Christendom. Infidelity in Germany is no stronger than it is in Boston. Out of the thirty universities of that most learned land of the globe, only one is called rationalistic to-day.

When the sun stands above Bunker Hill at noon, it has just set on the Parthenon, and is rising on the volcanoes of the Sandwich Isles. As Easter Day passed about the globe, the contrasted scenes which the sun saw here — a multitude fed with God's word, and a few erratics striving to solace themselves without God — were not unlike the scenes which the resplendent orb looked down upon in the whole range of civilization. In two hundred languages of the world, the Scriptures were read yesterday; in two hundred languages of the world, hymns were lifted to the Triune name yesterday; in two hundred languages of the world, the gospel was preached to the poor yesterday.

What is our impecunious scepticism doing here?

Has it ever printed a book that has commanded permanent intellectual respect? Theodore Parker's collected works never went into a second edition. I do not know of a single infidel book over a hundred years old that has not been put on the upper neglected shelf by scholars. Boston must compare her achievements with those of cities outside of America, and take her chances under the buffetings of time. Where is there in Boston any thing in the shape of scepticism that will bear the microscope? For one, I solemnly aver that I do not know where, and I have nothing else to do but search. Theodore Parker is the best sceptic you ever had; but, to me, he is honeycombed through and through with disloyalty to the very nature of things, — his supreme authority. [Applause.] It was asserted not long ago, in an obscure sceptical newspaper here, that Parker's works ought to be forced into a second edition by his friends. It was admitted that there was no demand for a second edition; but it was thought, that, if now there was an effort made strategetically, one might be put upon the market. You have no better books than these, and there has been no marked demand in Boston for these; and the attentive portion of the world knows the facts. Why am I proclaiming this? Because, outside of Boston, it is often carelessly supposed that the facts are the reverse, and that this city is represented only by a few people, who, deficient in religious activity, and forgetting the law of the survival of the fittest, are distinguished far more by audacity than by scholarship, and are members of a long line in history, of which Gallio stood at the head.

Let me mention as a fourth prominent trait in this revival, the great effort made for temperance. We have done more in that particular than was done in Whitefield's day; for in his time men were not awake on that theme. It is a good sign to see the Church and secular effort join hands. It is a good sign when our American evangelist himself can say, as he said yesterday, "I have been a professing Christian twenty-two years, and I have been in Boston and other cities for most of that time; and I never saw such a day as this is. I stand in wonder and amazement at what is being done. It seems as if God were taking this work out of our hands. Prayer-meetings are springing up in all parts of the city. If you were asked two months ago if these things were possible, you would have said, 'Yes, if God will open the windows of heaven, and do them.'"

Let us admit that we could all wish for greater blessings. Macaulay said, concerning literary excellence, that we were to measure success not by absolute, but by relative standards. Matching his own history against the seventh book of Thucydides, he was always humble; but, matching it against current productions, Macaulay felt encouraged. Matching this day in Boston against some things in Whitefield's day, matching it against the dateless noon of Pentecost, matching it against our opportunities, we are humble; we have no reason for elation; ours is a day of small things. But compare what has been done here by God's word, and religious effort, with all that has been done since Boston was

founded by the opponents of God's word, and we are encouraged. [Applause.]

Our opportunity in the second New England is greater than that of our fathers was in the first New England. Let us act as the memory of our fathers dictates. New England, the Mississippi Valley, the Pacific coast, Scotland, England, always know whether or not Boston does her duty. A power not of man is in this hushed air. Who will lock hands with Him whom we dare not name, and go forward to triumph in the cause that cares equally for the rich and the poor, and for to-day and to-morrow? [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

When the Christian martyr Pionius was asked by his judges, "What God dost thou worship?" he replied: "I worship Him who made the heavens, and who beautified them with stars, and who has enriched the earth with flowers and trees." — "Dost thou mean," asked the magistrates, "Him who was crucified?" (*illum dicis qui crucifixus est.*) "Certainly," replied Pionius; "Him whom the Father sent for the salvation of the world." (RUINART, *Acta*, p. 125. See LIDDON'S *Bampton Lectures*, p. 409.) As Pionius died, so died Blandina and the whole host of those who in the first three centuries, without knowing any thing of the Nicene Creed, held it implicitly, if not explicitly, and proclaimed it in flames and in dungeons, in famine and in nakedness, under the rack and under the sword.

On the Ægean Sea, under the shadow of the Acrop-

olis, there were undoubtedly sung yesterday, in the Greek cathedrals, words which were written in the second century: —

"Hail, gladdening Light, of his pure glory poured,
Who is the Immortal Father, heavenly blest,
Holiest of Holies, Jesus Christ our Lord!
Now we are come to the sun's hour of rest,
The lights of evening around us shine;
We hymn the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit divine:
Worthiest art thou at all times to be sung
With undefiled tongue,
Son of our God, Giver of life alone,
Therefore, in all the world, thy glories, Lord, we own."

(See original in ROUTH's *Reliquæ Sacræ*, iii., p. 515.)

This poem is yet a vesper hymn in the Greek Church, and St. Basil quotes it in the third century. It and the Gloria in Excelsis and the Ter Sanctus, which yesterday rolled around the world, were written in the second century, to pay absolutely divine honors to our Lord.

When I open the best book which unevangelical Christianity ever printed in Boston, — James Freeman Clarke's Truths and Errors about Orthodoxy — no! "Truths and Errors *of* Orthodoxy," but the first would have been a better title [applause], — I read: "Down to the time of the Synod of Nice, Anno Domini 325, no doctrine of Trinity existed in the Church" (p. 508). Will that statement bear the microscope of historical science? If it will, I wish to believe it, and to reject every thing inconsistent with it.

But I hold in my hands this Greek vesper-hymn and this Ter Sanctus and this Gloria in Excelsis, written in the second century. What do they mean? The dying words of martyrs for three centuries are all in harmony with the present faith of the Christian world.

Here is this statement of the emperor Adrian, who, when writing to Servian, described the population of Alexandria as divided between the worship of Christ and the worship of Serapis: *Ab aliis Serapidem, ab aliis adorari Christum.* (*Apud* LAMPRID, in *Vita Alex. Severi*).

About A.D. 165 Lucian says: "The Christians are still worshipping that great man who was crucified in Palestine" (*De Morte Perigrini*, c. 11).

Remember Pliny's explicit official letter to Trajan, affirming that cross-examination and torture had elicited from the martyrs only the statement that "they were accustomed to meet on a stated day, and sing a hymn to Christ as god," and to pledge themselves by a sacrament to abstain from evil of every kind (PLINY, *Ep.*, lib. x. *Ep.* 97). The Ter Sanctus and the Gloria in Excelsis show us what meaning to put upon Pliny's words, *Carmenque Christo, quasi Deo.*

Calvisianus said to the martyr Euplius, "Pay worship to Mars, Apollo, and Esculapius." Euplius replied, "I worship the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. I adore the Holy Trinity, besides whom there is no God. Perish the gods who did not make heaven and earth, and all that is in them! I am a Christian" (RUINART, *Acta*, p. 362).

The followers of Artemon maintained that the doctrine of the Trinity was brought into the Church at a late day. A writer quoted by Eusebius observed in reply, that the psalms and the hymns of the brethren, which from the earliest days of Christianity had been written by the faithful, all celebrate Christ, the Word of God, proclaiming his Divinity (EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 28).

Is it true, my friends, that there was no doctrine of the Triune name before the year 325? Or, if you admit there was a Triune name before that date, do you deny that these martyrs, who died with prayers to Christ as God, knew what they were about?

Follow up the unimpeached record, and you will find it beyond controversy that the first three centuries taught explicitly the doctrine of the Triune name. Was that a practical truth?

To be analytical, in order that, if possible, I may be clear, let me say that I wish to show by detailed documentary evidence, that the ante-Nicene Christian literature proves that in the first three centuries the Church held the doctrine of the Trinity.

1. This literature copiously asserts that Christ possessed proper Deity.

2. It teaches copiously that believers are saved by the atonement made by our Lord.

3. It affirms abundantly that the Holy Spirit is a present Christ.

4. It everywhere proclaims that God, as three and one, is omnipresent in natural law.

5. These must be regarded as the most practical

of all religious truths, if judged by the work they have done. They were the inspiration of martyrs' lives, and the solace of martyrs' deaths.

6. These truths contain the doctrine of the Trinity implicitly, and the doctrine of the Trinity contains them implicitly and explicitly.

7. That doctrine, therefore, is the teaching of the first three Christian centuries.

Gentlemen, we are to-day to breathe the spring-time of Christianity. The sights and the sounds of that period may well move us, for they have conquered the world. We are to gaze upon an age which is renowned now, and is to be more and more renowned as the centuries roll on, as that of the Apostolic Fathers. I hold in my hand the first volume of a celebrated series of books (published by T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh), called the "Ante-Nicene Library;" that is, Christian documents existing before the Nicene Council was called together in 325. I am to read to you nothing upon which I have not put elaborate study; but that fact is not assurance that I am right. The world has boxed about these documents in close controversy for fifteen hundred years; and, if any thing is known about history, it is known that the select passages I am to present to you are genuine records of the first three centuries. Do not think that I forget, although I cannot mention here in detail, how much is interpolated here, and spurious; but scholarship has been walking over this record until it has found every boggy spot in it; and I am to have you put your feet now only on a few stepping-

stones which infidelity itself considers firm as adamant, so far as their historical genuineness is concerned.

There is a marvellous church of St. Clement, near the Coliseum, in Rome. You remember the words, "Rejoice always; and again I say, Rejoice" (Phil. iv. 4). In the verse preceding this, St. Paul mentions a certain Clement of Rome; and that Clement is supposed to be the author of this letter, which now, in the year 1877, in Boston, you may hold in your hands, and which was sent from Rome to Corinth, by one church to admonish another in a majestic age of the world. Clement, the author of this epistle, is known to have written it about the year 97. By common consent he is regarded as one of the pupils of St. Paul. This epistle Eusebius calls "great and admirable," and says that it was very often read in the churches before and during his day (EUSEBIUS, iii. 16).

Purposely I avoid following analytically the order of the propositions I am defending, but at hap-hazard almost I take passages out of this unspeakably electric record; and you shall judge whether or not all that my propositions assert is here implied.

"Content with the provision which God had made for you, and carefully attending to his words, ye were inwardly filled with his doctrine, and his sufferings [whose sufferings? God's sufferings] were before your eyes. Thus a profound and abundant peace was given to you all, and ye had an insatiable desire for doing good, while a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit was upon you all. Full of holy designs, ye did, with true earnestness of mind, and a godly confidence, stretch forth your hands

to God Almighty, beseeching him to be merciful unto you, if ye had been guilty of any involuntary transgression. Day and night ye were anxious for the whole brotherhood, that the number of God's elect might be saved with mercy and a good conscience" (p. 8).

How fresh is this breeze, as from spring hill-sides, — the bursting April of Christianity! It is written in the record of a day which dawned on the world eighteen hundred and forty-eight years ago yesterday (LEWES, *Fausti Scari*), that while it was yet dark Mary Magdalen came to the sepulchre, and the beloved disciple and Peter also; and that, although the beloved disciple outran his companion, Peter went first into the sepulchre. It was yet dark then; but is it not getting to be, in the history of the world, when this letter was written, gray brindled dawn? Remember what persecution surged around the Church, out of which came these words with a tone that belongs only to spiritual greatness of the first rank: —

"Let us set before our eyes the illustrious apostles. Peter, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two, but numerous labors; and, when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him. Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, after being seven times thrown into captivity, compelled to flee, and stoned. After preaching both in the east and west, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world; and, come to the extreme limit of the west, he suffered martyrdom under the prefects" (p. 11).

"We are struggling in the same arena, and the same conflict is assigned to us" (p. 12).

What historic majesty there is in this language!—

"Wherefore [what? Here is revealed the martyr's inner sky] let us give up vain and fruitless cares, and approach to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling. Let us attend to what is good, pleasing, and acceptable in the sight of Him who formed us. *Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious that blood is to God, which, having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of repentance before the whole world*" (p. 12).

Will Boston in this far day listen to Clement of Rome, speaking in the year 97?

When I turn to that really sublime document, the Epistle of Diognetus, which scholars here will thank me for citing, I come upon this passage, written in the second century:—

"Truly God himself, who is almighty, the Creator of all things, and invisible, has sent from heaven and placed among men [Him who is] the truth, and the holy and incomprehensible Word, and has firmly established him in their hearts. He did not, as one might have imagined, send to men any servant or angel, but the very Creator and Fashioner of all things, by whom he made the heavens, by whom he enclosed the sea within its proper bounds, whose ordinances all the stars faithfully observe, from whom the sun has received the measure of his daily course to be observed; whom the moon obeys, being commanded to shine in the night; and whom the stars also obey, following the moon in her course; by whom all things have been arranged and placed within their proper limits, and to whom all are subject,—the heavens and the things that are therein, the earth and the things that are therein, the sea and the things that are therein; fire, air, and the abyss; the things which are in the heights, the things which are in the depths, and the things which lie between. This [messenger] he sent to them. As a

king sends his son, who is also a king, so sent he him; as God he sent him; as to men he sent him; as a Saviour he sent him" (pp. 309, 310).

If this amazing passage asserts the Deity of our Lord, does not the next copiously teach the atonement?

"He himself took on him the burden of our iniquities: he gave his own Son as a ransom for us, — the holy One for transgressors, the blameless One for the wicked, the righteous One for the unrighteous, the incorruptible One for the corruptible, the immortal One for them that are mortal. For what other thing was capable of covering our sins than his righteousness? By what other one was it possible that we, the wicked and ungodly, could be justified, than by the only Son of God? O sweet exchange! O unsearchable operation! O benefits surpassing all expectation! that the wickedness of many should be hid in a single righteous One, and that the righteousness of One should justify many transgressors! Having, therefore, convinced us in the former time, that our nature was unable to attain to life, and having now revealed the Saviour, who is able to save even those things which it was (formerly) impossible to save, by both these facts he desired to lead us to trust in his kindness, to esteem him our Nourisher, Father, Teacher, Counsellor, Healer, our Wisdom, Light, Honor, Glory, Power, and Life" (pp. 312, 313).

"This is He who was from the beginning, who appeared as if new, and was found old, and yet who is ever born afresh in the hearts of the saints. This is He, who, being from everlasting, is to-day called the Son; through whom the Church is enriched, and grace, widely spread, increases in the saints, furnishing understanding, revealing mysteries, announcing times, rejoicing over the faithful, giving to those that seek, by whom the limits of faith are not broken through, nor the boundaries set by the fathers passed over. Then the fear of the law is

chanted, and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the Gospels is established, and the tradition of the apostles is preserved, and the grace of the Church exults" (p. 315).

But now I open another document of equal interest, and read in the Epistle of Polycarp, written about the middle of the second century: —

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, to him all things in heaven and on earth are subject. Him every spirit serves. He comes as the Judge of the living and the dead. But He who raised him up from the dead will raise up us also, if we do his will, and walk in his commandments, and love what he loved" (p. 70).

I turn on, my friends, and find in the shorter recension of the Epistles of Ignatius, notice I say the shorter, this statement: —

"He who possesses the word of Jesus is truly able to hear even his very silence, that he may be perfect, and may both act as he speaks, and be recognized by his silence. There is nothing which is hid from God; but our very secrets are near to him. Let us, therefore, do all things as those who have him dwelling in us, that we may be his temples, and he may be in us as our God; which indeed he is" (p. 163).

Is there nothing in this early religion at which modern culture may sneer? In all my reading of antiquity outside the Scriptures, I have never met a passage in prose equal for poetic power to the one I am about to pronounce before you, nor one that is half as worthy as this to be held up in the light of modern science: —

"The heavens revolving under his government are subject to him in peace. Day and night run the course appointed by

him, in no wise hindering each other. The sun and moon, with the companies of the stars, roll on in harmony according to his command, within their prescribed limits, and without any deviation. The fruitful earth, according to his will, brings forth food in abundance, at the proper seasons, for man and beast, and all the living beings upon it, never hesitating, nor changing any of the ordinances which he has fixed. The unsearchable places of the abysses, and the indescribable arrangements of the lower world, are restrained by the same laws. The vast immeasurable sea, gathered together by his working, into various basins, never passes beyond the bounds placed around it, but does as he has commanded. The ocean, impassable to man, and the worlds beyond it, are regulated by the same enactments of the Lord. The seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, peacefully give place to one another. The winds in their several quarters fulfil at the proper time their service without hinderance. The ever-flowing fountains, formed both for enjoyment and health, furnish without fail their breasts for the life of men. Take heed, beloved, lest his many kindnesses lead to the condemnation of us all" (pp. 21, 22).

"The Creator and Lord of all himself rejoices in his works; for by his infinitely great power he established the heavens, and by his incomprehensible wisdom he adorned them. He also divided the earth from the water which surrounds it, and fixed it upon the immovable foundation of his own will. The animals also which are upon it he commanded by his own word into existence. So, likewise, when he had formed the sea, and the living creatures which are in it, he enclosed them within their proper bounds by his own power. Above all, with his holy and undefiled hands he formed man" (pp. 30).

"How blessed and wonderful, beloved, are the gifts of God! — life in immortality, splendor in righteousness, truth in perfect confidence, faith in assurance, self-control in holiness! And all these fall under the cognizance of understandings (now); what, then, shall those things be which are prepared for such as wait for him? The Creator and Father of all worlds, the Most Holy alone, knows their amount and their beauty" (pp. 31, 32).

Does Concord furnish any thing better than that? It is pantheism, you say? It is Christian theism in the first century, uttering itself in majestic tones fit to be matched with the anthems of the latest investigation. [Applause.]

So spoke Clement, and he is a pupil of Paul, and is to be interpreted in part by his master; and, if you put Paul and Clement together, the meaning of one and of the other is doubly clear, as is the light in two mirrors when they face each other.

Old Rome is alive. When I entered for the first time the Eternal City, I purposely came in by the last light of day, and under the earliest stars. I took pains not to meet with any thing inartistic or trivial. I put myself in a carriage, and did not look outside of it until I reached my rooms, and next morning kept my eyes inside a carriage until I was in presence of the Coliseum. That was the first object I saw in Rome. Mrs. Browning's words were constantly in my thoughts: —

> "And the mountains in disdain
> Gather back their lights of opal
> From the dumb, despondent plain,
> Heaped with jaw-bones of a people."

Cæsar and Antony were near, and Cicero and Sallust, and Horace and Virgil, and Cato and Seneca, and Nero and the rest. After days and weeks of trance I obtained a better historic sense. Suddenly, among the marbles in St. Clement's Church, I remembered Mrs. Browning's other words: —

> "Cæsar's work is all undone;"

but Clement's is not, Peter's not, Paul's not. The feet of these men, too, fell on the seven hills; and their work endures. In the Catacombs, the gray crypts of volcanic stone seemed to be the nursery of America, because the cradle of Christianity when it was preparing to ascend that throne of the Cæsars from which it has not yet come down. When in the Coliseum at midnight, and in the Forum at noon, the tallest of the historic forms that filled the living air seemed to be those of the Christian martyrs, for they have ruled the world as Cæsar has not. In the Coliseum, I came at last to understand Richter's words: "Here coiled the giant Snake five times about Christianity; but the Serpent and the Bear crouch. Broken asunder are the gigantic spokes of the wheel which once the stream of the ages drove" (TITAN). In the azure heights of the outer and inner sky the wheel of the universe moves on without variableness in its motion, or shadow of change.

Was the Holy Spirit to the early Christians a present Christ?

To them was God as three and one, omnipresent in natural law?

All history since the Ascension proclaims that the Holy Spirit breathed out to-day is one with that, which, eighteen hundred and a few more years ago last evening, was breathed upon the disciples with the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." [Applause.]

IV.

THEODORE PARKER'S SELF-CONTRADICTIONS.

THE SEVENTY-THIRD LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE APRIL 9.

"THE law of contradiction vindicates itself. It cannot be denied without being assented to." — FERRIER: *Ins. of Met.* p. 21.

"SUNT et belli, sicut pacis jura." — LIVY.

IV.

THEODORE PARKER'S SELF-CONTRADICTIONS.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

THE Spaniards have a proverb which says, "An ounce of mother is worth a pound of clergy." An ounce of conduct is worth a ton of reading. An ounce of self-surrender to truth already possessed is worth a planet's weight of truth not transmuted into deeds. Nevertheless, it is so important to give attention to select reading in the hushed mood of spiritual sensitiveness, which is the only interpreter of souls in print, that perhaps it is timely in Boston now to recite a list of illumined, cheerful, incisive, stalwart books which may be useful to those who lately have entered a Christian life, and some of which may become not only food, but muscle. Let us always remember that mental and spiritual food, without work, are not transformed into nerve and muscle; and it is these you want, and not merely food. Work after food makes strength; and food without work makes — what shall we say? A plethoric, overfed, luxurious, uneasy Christianity, an object of pity to

gods and men, and, perhaps, found in as great quantity to the square mile in Eastern Massachusetts as anywhere else on the globe.

What you want, of course, is first the Bible really understood; that is, acted out. How much do you know of Shakspeare until after you are forty years of age? Until a man has surrendered himself to God, he cannot be said to appreciate the Bible or any great merely human production. Let a poet like Milton, or Shakspeare, or Dante, make a painting of the inner sky in man, and he will put into it light and shade almost as strongly contrasted as the light and shade of Christianity. If there is not the sun of the Atonement in it, there will be there the chariot of that sun, — a fathomless desire for peace with God and with the irreversible record of the past. But how can you understand great poetry of the secular sort until you have lived it, and multitudinous rifting experiences have opened your heart? Nevertheless, even with a heart untutored by fulness of life, it is better for you to read great poetry than third-rate poetry, — the light fiddling of the charlatans, who sing the anthem of the stars as if it were a dancing-tune, or make a painting of the sky without the sun in it, or moon, or light, or shade, or much of any thing else. It is best for you, in studying what is greatest in the results of human imagination, to avoid mercilessly all second-rate matter, however good. So, too, in feeding your devotional life, it is best for you to avoid Bunyan and Jeremy Taylor, and Baxter and Martineau and Pas-

cal, and Bushnell and Thomas à Kempis himself, if these books shut out the Bible from daily and almost hourly use. The Germans have a proverb, that "the better is a great enemy of the best." Even the richest of the devotional works are a mischief, if they hinder you from taking the Bible as your supreme inspirer in life, as it will undoubtedly be your supreme solace in death.

Do you know a book that you are willing to put under your head for a pillow when you lie dying? Very well: that is the best volume for you to study while living. There is but one such book in the world. For one, I have not made up my mind to put under my head, when I lie dying, any thing written by Voltaire, or Strauss, or Parker. We are to be scientifically careful when we choose a book for a dying-pillow. If you can tell me what you want for a dying-pillow, I will tell you what you want for a pillar of fire in life; that is, the Bible, spiritually and scientifically understood by being transmuted into deeds. Sentiment is worth nothing until it becomes principle, and principle nothing until it becomes action.

I hold in my hand a publication entitled "Hints on Bible Marking," by an English authoress, Mrs. Menzies, and issued by the renowned firm of Samuel Bagster and Sons in London. Undoubtedly it is known by all scholars here; and I am not speaking to-day, or any day, to gentlemen in whose presence I ought to be dumb. But there are younger persons here and elsewhere who may be benefited by this sumptuous pamphlet, approved by our American evangelist, who,

perhaps, has not referred to this best production on this topic, because his own name is connected with it. It is delightfully printed in the best London style, and with illustrations of the method of marking a Bible, which you will probably find better than any you can invent. I would not have even this method adopted by any one to the hinderance of originality in the invention of your own method of marking. *You ought to mark a Bible every five years so thoroughly, that you cannot use it any more.* May I whisper that I have a Bible, marked when I was about fourteen or seventeen years of age, and had but just united with the church; and that to-day it is the most unspeakable record on which I can put my hand in my little past? If, every five years, you can mark a Bible thoroughly, and memorize what is marked, it will be your best diary. You can do little better in reading than to fill the margins of a copy of the Scriptures, once every five years, full of the records of the deepest inmost in your souls, to be intelligible to yourself, and to no one else. Shut the door on that record. Enter into your closet, and keep your secrets with Almighty God.

At a trial in Salem, Webster said of the argument of his opponent, "Gentlemen of the jury, this man neither alights, nor flies forward: he hovers. Why does he not meet the case?" Our age is full of readers and students who are mere hoverers, who neither fly forward, nor alight, and who think the highest philosophical glory is in never coming to a conclusion. Have you not seen these winged, unrest-

ing spiritual creatures? Reading is of small account unless it is thought to be of no account in comparison with that style of action which makes obedience to truth an organ of spiritual knowledge.

Among devotional works, if you could have but six authors, which would you take?

1. Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Holy Dying." There you have a great imagination, a flaming heart, a wonderful analytical power, undoubted soundness of thought, and tropical sympathy with all ranges of religious emotion. Outside of Shakspeare and Milton, perhaps there is not a greater imagination in English literature than Jeremy Taylor's. It is good to be acquainted with him, although but a little; and, if you once fall in love with this single book of his, renowed now for several generations, all his works will become to you as a temple full of incense, and you will pace up and down in it as men walk up and down in the Cathedral at Cologne, glorious for its architecture, glorious for its atmosphere, glorious for the music in it, but more glorious than for any thing else for the light of the East that streams through its many-colored windows. [Applause.]

2. Thomas à Kempis: "Imitation of Christ." This is a book of which one cannot speak without a hush of tone. A sweet aroma breathes from it as from the earliest and most modest of the spring blossoms. A Romish work, if you please, but none the worse for that, so far as its devotional side is concerned. It is adopted everywhere by Protestantism, and linked, therefore, to all the ages, Romish

and Protestant, back to the day when there was neither Romanist nor Protestant.

3. Bunyan, and not only the "Pilgrim's Progress," but the "Holy War." Take all his devotional works, and read the best of them in some adequately illustrated edition, with Maculay's Essay on Bunyan as a preface.

4. Pascal: "Thoughts on Religion."

But now, among American writers, whom shall I mention, when I can name but two?

5. Horace Bushnell's "Sermons for the New Life." You have heard me criticise portions of his writings; but what can be better than his discussions of this and all similar themes? [Applause.] Bushnell's "Nature and the Supernatural" is a prose epic, some strains in which seem likely to be heard many centuries.

6. Huntington's "Christian Believing and Living." He knew Boston: he knew the mind of this city on two sides. His literary equipment was very complete. In the commanding position of preacher to the great university yonder, he passed through a struggle in changing his views from those which he had preached to those which he now preaches; and this book with such an origin has thoughts timely for all culture in a similar state of transition.

I do not forget "St. Augustine's Confessions," nor the "Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius," nor "Plato." "What works of Baxter shall I read?" said Boswell to Johnson. "Read all of them," was the reply;

"for they are all good." Are Doddridge and Fuller not to be named? Who will not refuse to part with F. W. Robertson, and twenty biographies, some of which are the best devotional works? Shall I omit Dora Greenwell, and Goulburn, and Hare, and Martineau?

All of these writers are to be commended; but you will be able to master more than about one hundred books in your short life. It is best that you should not let third-rates crowd out first-rates. Spend time on Milton, Carlyle, Shakspeare, Mrs. Browning, and all great poems, of which there are not a thousand in the world.

On the Deity of our Lord what books deserve to named, if we can mention only six?

1. Liddon: "Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of our Lord," — a very frequently attacked book, but one which, on the whole, is to be regarded as the best in English on the subject. It is not an exhaustive volume; but you will find it very valuable if you will master its learned references. The footnotes mean something, and you must not skip them.

2. Dorner, professor in the University at Berlin: "History of the Person of Christ." This is a book in four or five volumes, and is to be recommended as, perhaps, the best which has been transplanted out of the German language on this topic. Dorner and Liddon have never been answered, and they are as fresh as the risen sun.

3. Clarke, James Freeman: "Orthodoxy." Of course you will read both sides.

4. Stuart, Professor Moses: Miscellanies, including Letters to Dr. Channing. The proof-texts here are the most incisive portion.

5. Seeley, Professor: "Ecce Homo."

6. Neander: "Life of Christ."

On the Christian evidences let me mention: —

1. Butler's "Analogy." This is the book Edmund Burke always recommended as unanswerable, and it is not outgrown.

2. Paley's "Evidences," but always in connection with later works.

3. Farrar's "Critical History of Free Thought." Bampton Lectures at the University of Oxford, 1862. The references in that work are the best I have seen.

4. Fisher's "Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity."

5. Christlieb: "Modern Doubt," 1864.

6. "Aids to Faith," by distinguished writers of the Church of England, in reply to Essays and Reviews.

7. Whately: "Peculiarities of the Christian Religion;" his proof that "Napoleon" never existed if our Lord never did; and, lastly, his "Christian Evidences."

7. Horne's "Introduction to the New Testament," new edition.

You say I am partisan; and so I take up one of the best of the popular guides, "The Best Reading;" and I find this statement from a man who is no theologian and no partisan: —

"To keep your balance against the often denounced innu-

endoes of Mr. Gibbon, don't quiddle with the goody little notes to Gibbon, by Milman and others, but having let Gibbon poison you as much as he can, —he won't hurt you if you have much intellect of your own,— turn away, and master at once the right side of the main question of Christ in history, by a thorough study and mental appropriation of Horne's 'Introduction to the Study of the Sacred Scriptures.' I mean not the obsolete old edition, still obstinately and improperly kept in the American market to the exclusion of the proper one, but the last edition, with Horne's own latest revisions, and with the addition, by first-class evangelical English scholars, of all the recent learning on the subject. No man of sound mind, having mastered Horne, will ever be materially troubled by such little snips and sneers as Gibbon's, or by any other attempt to destroy the historical argument for the substantial truth of the Bible." [Applause.]

9. Wescott's "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels."

10. Müller, Julius: "The Doctrine of Sin."

11. Hagenbach: "The Decline of German Rationalism." This book Professor Thöluck told me repeatedly he put first into the hands of any student who came to Germany, and wished to know the history of German rationalism.

12. Dorner: "The History of Protestant Theology."

There are many little jeers and quips which are admirably answered by Haley, a late scholarly writer, on the "Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible,"—a book which every one who frequents a (Paine) full hall ought to have.

Read sometimes on your knees. Let us have no debate merely for the sake of debate. Let us have manly transmutation of our conviction into action; and whenever we are loyal to the truth we know we

shall have more, and more, and more, until our east window breaks, and the east window of the Unseen Holy receives us into its perfect day. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Dean Stanley of Westminster Abbey, in that already famous address of his, delivered but a few days ago at the University of St. Andrew's in Scotland, speaks of Thomas Carlyle as the most famous of living Scotchmen, "who, though winding up the threads of his long and honorable life at Chelsea, has never disdained the traditions of the Scottish church and nation, still warms at the recollection of his native Annandale, and still is fired with poetic ardor when he speaks of the glories of St. Andrew's" (*London Times*, March 17, 1877). Has Boston any literary name on the whole superior to that of Thomas Carlyle? Did Transcendentalism thirty years ago in this city, does American literature in its yet unended April, owe any thing to the author of "Sartor Resartus" and "The French Revolution"? We have in this Scottish author perhaps the greatest imagination Europe has seen since Richter, and, if the German be omitted, the greatest since Milton. A will free as ever was Boreas horsed on the North Wind, and yet a man who, Dean Stanley says, has never broken with the traditions of the Scottish church! That portion of the world which has been too busy or too obtuse to read what is between the lines in Carlyle's writings has wished for information as to Carlyle's religion. This information is given by the lord rector of St. Andrew's University.

It is pointedly understood by scholars that Dean Stanley is not a bigot; but he is a representative of Westminster Abbey, and as such he says in this same address, "I am not here to criticise or disparage the venerable document, which, born under my own roof at Westminster, alone of all such confessions for a short time represented the whole national faith of Great Britain. If the Westminster Catechism has some defects or exaggerations from which our own Thirty-nine Articles are free, yet, on the other hand, it has soared to higher heights, and struck down to deeper depths." When New England was in the gristle, she was fed on what? On the Westminster Catechism, which, in spite of its defects, soared, according to Dean Stanley, to heights farther aloft, and struck down to depths nearer the centre of thought, than had been reached by any other English symbol of religious faith.

Theodore Parker is perpetually assailing what he calls the popular theology; and it is to be admitted, that if, by this phrase, you mean the misconceptions of the half-educated, fault enough can be found effectively with New England. But what did Parker mean by the popular theology? Although a man of courage, he was usually so prudent as not to give references when he attacked this giant. "I have been careful," he often said, "not to cite authorities, lest individual churches or writers should be deemed responsible for the sin of the mass" (*Discourse on Religion*, p. 429). In the plentiful absence of scholarly references, there is a vagueness in Parker's

charges against the popular theology, that is not at all scientific. Surely, if we are to have a definition of the popular theology, we cannot with fairness go lower down than the Thirty-nine Articles. If we are to have any creed brought forward for scientific debate, we must have something to represent it at least as definite and authoritative as that set of symbols which Great Britain and her empire throughout the world, and the renowned Church which adopts those articles, regard as a standard summary of faith. Dean Stanley says the Westminster Catechism is, in some respects, better than the Thirty-nine Articles. But I will not use the catechism to-day: I will take the Thirty-nine Articles, in spite of this affirmation that they do not dive as deep, nor soar as high, as the Scottish and New-England symbol. I will take the overt services which have grown out of, and express the faith of, these articles; I will employ the Book of Common Prayer, in the pages most used by the people, as the fittest representation of popular theology.

Let us enter Westminster Abbey; let us examine the popular theology there; and while the anthems roll, while the incense of the sublime service rises above the tombs of poets and martyrs and kings, and orators and statesmen, let us listen to the contrasted voices of the worshipping assemblies as representing popular theology, and of a Boston critic as representing scientific attack on that theology. On the one hand, Carlyle and Stanley intone majestic words, which have the assent, in what I shall cite, of

all the evangelical communions of the world. On the other hand, let Theodore Parker utter in Westminster Abbey what he uttered in Boston. Gather up now all your historic senses, and forget not the vision of martyrs in the air as you listen; for perhaps the contrasts and echoes here may be more than slightly suggestive. You are standing on the hallowed floor which covers the irradiated tomb of Sir Isaac Newton, and this is what you hear: —

1. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth;

Heaven and Earth are full of the Majesty of thy Glory.

The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee.

The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise thee.

The noble army of Martyrs praise thee.

The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee;

The Father, of an Infinite Majesty;

Thine adorable, true, and only Son;

Also the Holy Ghost and Comforter.

Theodore Parker. — The popular theology regards God as eminently malignant (PARKER, *Sermons on Theism*, p. 101). Its God is diabolical (*Discourse on Religion*, p. 427).

2. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — From all blindness of heart; from pride, vain-glory, and hypocrisy; from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, good Lord, deliver us.

Parker. — This system can justify any thing out of the Bible. . . .It makes men do nothing from the love of what is good. Its divine life is but a good bargain (*Discourse on Religion*, pp. 426, 428). All the popular vices are sure to have the churches on their side (*Theism*, p. 162). The American churches launch their feeble thunders in defence of every popular wickedness (*Ibid.*, p. 141).

3. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — O God, the King of glory, we

beseech thee leave us not comfortless, but send to us thy Holy Ghost to comfort us; and in thee may we continually dwell, one God, world without end.

Parker. — The popular theology does not tell of God now, near at hand (*Discourse on Religion*, p. 426).

4. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord: that it may please thee to give to all thy people increase of grace to hear meekly thy Word, and to receive it with pure affection, and to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit. Endue us with the grace of thy Holy Spirit to amend our lives.

Parker. — The Holy Ghost of theology has nothing to do with schemes for making the world better (*Theism*, p. 117).

The Holy Ghost is not represented as loving wicked men; and no one of the three persons of the Godhead has any love for the soul of the lost (*Ibid.*, p. 102).

5. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — O ye Sun and Moon, O ye Stars of Heaven, bless ye the Lord; praise him and magnify him forever.

Parker. — The universe is not thought to be the word of God at all (*Theism*, p. 110).

6. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — O ye Showers and Dew, O ye Winds of God, O ye Fire and Heat, O ye Winter and Summer, O ye Dews and Frosts, O ye Frost and Cold, O ye Ice and Snow, bless ye the Lord; praise him and magnify him forever.

Parker. — It is tacitly taken for granted in the popular theology that God is sometimes taken by surprise, and has to mend his work.

7. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — O ye Nights and Days, O ye Light and Darkness, O ye Lightnings and Clouds, O ye Mountains and Hills, O all ye green Things upon the Earth, O ye Seas and Floods, bless ye the Lord; praise him, and magnify him forever.

Parker. — Pantheism and the popular theology agree in the negation of the Infinite, and the affirmation of a variable God (*Theism*, p. 302).

8. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — O God, without whom nothing is

strong, nothing is holy, thou being our Ruler and Guide, may we so pass through things temporal that we finally lose not the things eternal. . . . From all evil and mischief and sin, good Lord, deliver us.

Parker. — *Piety and morality, natural religion, is no condition of salvation: good works are bad things for that* (*Theism*, p. 115). Those that are saved are not saved by their character. Virtue has no virtue to save your soul (*Ibid.*, p. 114).

9. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — We ought at all times humbly to acknowledge our sins before God. We have done the things we ought not to have done. There is no health in us.

Parker. — According to the popular theology, sin does not consist in sinning, but in being born of Adam after the fall (*Theism*, p. 107). To take a step toward heaven, man must deny his nature. He is born totally depraved (*Discourse on Religion*, p. 425). You are born of the first sinner, and got as much hurt by the fall as he (*Theism*, p. 111).

10. *Carlyle and Stanley.* — Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them, granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting.

Parker. — Down with reason, cries the popular theology; down with human nature (*Theism*, p. 110).

Enough. If Westminster Abbey listens longer to this serene anthem and to these dissonant accusations, the dead here will rise. Pardon me, gentlemen; but Westminster Abbey is the world in our century. The names and voices contrasted here I use only as symbols of the great classes they represent in the conflicts of thought in the ages. Do the accusations need any other answers in the Abbey than those of the historic worship and the associations of the place? None at all. Still less do these accusations need answer in the historic temple of the world and the ages.

Indirectly I contrast here Theodore Parker's father with Theodore Parker's mother. You have accused me of forgetting the better traits in Parker. It was his mother who was singing this anthem, and in Parker there were moods in which he sang it. But when he uttered these accusations, which are caricatures needing no answer, the spirit of the drum-major of Lexington stood up under his waistcoat, and he was addressing opponents. In much of Parker's severest speech he is not thinking, he is fretting and chafing. These accusations are the language of intellectual irritation. You say I have contrasted Dean Stanley and Carlyle with Parker, and London with Boston. So I did; but I contrasted them in order that I might say emphatically at the last, that the mother of Theodore Parker would have sung that anthem with Carlyle and with Stanley; but the father in Theodore Parker, standing up to do a giant's work against slavery, had fallen into irritation of such a kind, that these ghastly statements of his undoubtedly seemed to him true, although you and I know that they are so false as to need no reply. [Applause.]

Total depravity, what is it? That clock yonder is made on a plan: so is my soul. The clock may be out of order: so may my soul. When that clock is in order, it keeps time: when my soul is in order, it obeys conscience. If the clock is so out of order as not to keep time, it is good for nothing as a clock: if my soul is so out of order as not to obey conscience, if I answer "I will not," when the Divine Voice says "I ought," I am not keeping time. Every

choice is wrong when I reply by the negative to the infinite affirmative; and as the moral character of all action comes from choice, and as my choice is wrong, I violate the plan of my being: I no longer keep time: I am good for nothing as a clock. But when I say that clock will not keep time, do I mean to say that the wheels in it cannot be put in order? No. Perhaps the wheels are of gold and silver. Disarrangedness in the clock implies its arrangeability. Disarrangedness in the soul implies its arrangeability. That clock will not keep time, however, and so I say it is totally depraved as a clock. Does that mean that the wheels are all slime, and the face of it a concrete mass of leprosy, or that there is nothing useful in it? Let us be clear on this topic once for all; for Boston loves clear thought, and supposes that there can be none on this subject. *Make a distinction between total depravity and total corruption.* That is a distinction as old as St. Augustine, and ought to be tolerably well understood here, where the doctrine of total depravity has so long been attacked mercilessly. If that clock were a concrete mass of unspeakable slime, I should say it is totally corrupt: when it is so out of order that it will not keep time, I say it is totally depraved. If there were nothing in a man capable of arrangement; if, when the soul is out of order, it could not, by following conscience and by God's good grace, be put again into order, — I should say it is totally corrupt. But the wheels yonder may be of pearl, the pivots may be of diamonds, and yet the clock not keep time

at all. It is not totally corrupt: it is totally depraved. So the human faculties may be wheels of far-flashing silver and gold and pearl: the pivots may roll on diamonds, and yet the man not keep time. He says "I will not" when the still small voice says "I ought;" and you know it is a deliverance of self-evident truth, that, when a man says this, he has a sense of ill-desert, and feels that the nature of things is against him. You cannot convince him that he is right with the universe. He is out of order with the universe whenever he does not keep time to the divine "I ought." But is that man incapable of being arranged? Not at all. Total depravity means the moral disarrangedness of man and the evil character of his choices: it implies man's arrangeability. It does not mean total corruption: that has no arrangeability. [Applause.]

Now, as to inherited vice and original sin, what amazing superficiality we have heard on that theme! You cut through knot after knot on this topic, if you will take a strong phrase of our American evangelist, and expand it into scientific shape. Indeed, it needs very little expanding. It was meant to be seen at a distance, as the figures of the prophets in the dome of St. Peter's are meant to be looked on at a distance. The pen of Isaiah in that dome is seven feet long; and his eyes, when you are close upon them, are really only bits of stone, rather rough mosaic: but, looked on as they were meant to be, he is the sublime prophet, and awes you as he gazes down from the height. Just so, many of our American

evangelist's expressions, when taken by piecemeal, and looked on with the eye of a fly critic, are understood about as well as the buzzing insect in that dome of St. Peter's understands the prophet Isaiah. [Applause.] They were meant to be seen at a distance; and this phrase I for one am willing to adopt, if you will understand it: "Man is born with his back toward God." That is original sin. [Applause.] Will your Shakspeare bear you out in your assertion that a man is born with his face toward God, and ready to say "I will" when the Divine Voice says "I ought"? Will your Milton and Richter, and your Carlyle, carry you through, if you undertake to maintain that man is born with his face toward God?

Accredited New-England theology does not assert that inherited evil disposition is sin; for it teaches always that responsibility cannot exist without freedom of the will, and that sin consists in evil choice. Sin is sinning, as Theodore Parker says that New England affirms it is not. There have been schools of theology using the word "sin" in a peculiar sense; but, if you will notice how they define the word, they mean at the last analysis only what our evangelist means when he says that a man is born with his face turned away from that Being who says "I ought," and to whom we say "I will not." But this moral condition is not total corruption: it is disarrangedness, it is not unarrangeability. Man is noble: the wheels in him are of gold, of silver, and of pearl, of an unmeasured preciousness. They are

so disarranged, however, as not to keep time; and that condition we call total depravity. If they were concrete slime, as they are not, we should call that condition total corruption. But for want of making that simple distinction, — one of the commonplaces of religious science, so familiar that I am almost ashamed to take up time with it here, even when we stand face to face with Theodore Parker's rough caricatures, — men fall into the most ghastly misconceptions of religious truth at this point, as if it were an impeachment of God's own work, or as if there were in it the spirit of some ghoulish depredator at the tomb of all that is noble in man.

Your Shakspeare asserts total depravity as much as New-England theology, and I think rather more. There is not on the globe a deep writer of the merely secular sort, who does not affirm that man is inclined at birth, by hereditary descent, to say "I will not" when the Divine Voice says "I ought." All ethical science asserts, that until you come into a predominant mood, in which you love what the Divine Voice that says "I ought" commands, you do not keep time; you are worth nothing as a clock. Nevertheless you can be arranged so as to follow the unchanging plan of your soul. That clock out of order needs a hand from outside of it to put it in order. Man can obey his conscience; I believe man can do all that God requires of him: nevertheless, when a man is put in order, after having been so disarranged as not to keep time, he incontrovertibly has to thank the original plan of the mechanism, and he did not

invent that. He has to thank Divine Providence for bringing truth to bear upon him in such a way as to seize his reason and emotion, and woo him at last freely to do what he ought. While God rules in him by the plan of the clock, man also, by his own free choice, acts within himself; and, since very evidently both powers are conjoined in arranging the clock, we do well to work out our own orderliness with fear and trembling. [Applause.]

Theodore Parker's chief error was a confusion of popular and scholarly theology. This series of cari catures illustrates that confusion, and so does a series of self-contradictions which must now be outlined.

The deepest desire of man is for final satisfaction, intellectual and moral, concerning religious truth and his personal relations to it. Tossed about, however wearily, and without a place where to lay the head, no past age has made, and no future age will make, a pillow of self-contradiction. There never will come a time when transcendentalism will meet with successful opposition to its assertion that a thing cannot be and not be at the same time and in the same sense. If there is a self-evident truth, that is one, transcending, if you please, not only the experience of the individual, but also that of the race. Only very slowly can I get forward here with the immense theme of the intuitional philosophy; but I am not forgetting that some of you think that these royal intuitive beliefs in self-evident truths are the result of inherited experience of both the individual and the race. I know that in Orion a thing cannot be

and not be at the same time and in the same sense, andth at the same is true in the North Star. But I never had any experience in the North Star; the race never had any experience in Orion. Our conviction, however, is perfect that the whole must be greater than a part in the Pleiades, or in the Swan, or where Sagittarius draws his bow in the south. We have never flown through the zenith with the Swan; mankind never drew bow with Sagittarius in the southern heavens. Axiomatic certainties have a range immeasurably transcending all possible experience of the individual or of the race. They are certainties everywhere and always. Therefore, according to all just philosophy, self-contradiction is a competent condemnation of any proposition, not only for this world, but for all worlds; not only for time, but for eternity.

In Theodore Parker's collected writings, self-contradictions are far more easily noticed than in any of his volumes taken singly. It is significant that there never has been an American edition of his works; that is, of his collected writings. Of course individual volumes of his have been several times republished; but there is in this country no edition of his collected works. There is such an edition in England; but when I asked one of his publishers here, if the English edition had prevented the appearance of the collected works in this country, he he replied, "Not at all. The books will not sell."

What are some of the more important self-contradictions in Theodore Parker's productions taken as a whole?

There is in Parker's scheme of thought a multiplex self-contradiction as to the intuitions of conscience.

1. The intuitions of conscience declare man's ill-desert when he says "I will not" to the Divine "I ought."

2. The ill-desert of man is therefore, a self-evident fact.

3. The intuitions were Parker's authority.

4. The life and correspondence and public words of Theodore Parker yield almost no proof that he was accustomed to confess sin to the Supreme Being. The nearest he comes to confession is in a prayer offered in Music Hall the day after the unveiling of Beethoven's statue: "May we chastise ourselves for every mean and wicked thing" (WEISS, *Life*, vol. i. p. 411).

5. To James Freeman Clarke he writes from his dying-chamber that there is in man no condition of enmity against God (*Life*, vol. i. p. 151). "No sin," he said, "can make an indelible mark on what I call the soul" (*Ibid.*, p. 149).

6. Self-evident truth does, and Theodore Parker did not, carefully distinguish human infirmity from human iniquity. He held, that, at the last analysis, sin is a defect of judgment, or a necessary incident in our moral development, and that therefore "every fall is a fall upward." That phrase, I find, has been often cited by scholars as typical of Parker's thought. It is a clause out of a whole page to which I printed a reference the other day (*Sermons on Theism*, p. 408);

and, when I put a reference into a published report, I mean, of course, to invite all gentlemen to look at the original (see also pp. 417, 299, of the same book). When a man painstakingly gives a reference, he must be accused of pedantry, if he has not a desire to have people make use of the reference. I cannot say every thing here in an hour; but I give the references to bear myself out; and it is an essential part of the reading of any man's argument to examine the authorities to which he refers. There is in Parker nothing more fundamental than the doctrine implied by assertions like these: "To the wickedest, life is no absolute failure;" "Optimism is the piety of science;" "Sin is the provocation to virtue" (FROTHINGHAM, *Life*, p. 353). "Every fall is a fall upward;" "Sure of my immortality and sure of God, I fear nothing." Expressions like these are scattered all through his writings; and these are perfectly consistent with the theory which he held, that, by many a long and winding slope, Iscariot comes out right at last, and that it is safe to die a kidnapper or a murderer. (See last page of *Sermons on Theism.*)

There were shrewd men fleeced in Boston the other day by a swindler who fled to Europe. New York was fleeced lately by a conscienceless cormorant, who opened his beak wide enough to swallow the Hudson, and was afterward found back of the Palisades and at Vigo. At Meudon, in the French Revolution, gloves were made of human skins. What, now, if you were to say to the fleeced tax-

payers, and to the relatives of the flayed Frenchmen. Why, have you not heard that sin is a necessary step in the development of virtue? Do you not know that liberal thought asserts that every fall is a fall upward? Do you not understand that these acts of which you complain are merely the efforts of the human soul to get possession of its faculties? The Winslows and the Tweeds will come out right. God cares as much for them as he does for the Lawrences and Peabodys: if he does not, he is a malignant being. By many a long and winding slope every thief and leper and perjurer and murderer will come up at last to a height as lofty as he could have reached if he had gone up without sin. Iago falls · but he falls upward. He is getting possession of his faculties.

We understand moral truth best in a common-place example. Socrates preferred facts from the street to illustrate the curve of the moral law. On the gray mall on Boston Common yonder, under the elms beneath which Adams and Washington walked with Lafayette, you may see a seller of candies, an aged woman, in the biting wind, in the tatters of her poverty and in the trembling of her unsupported, declining strength. (See *Bib. Sac.*, vol. 26, p. 296.) With gladness she shows you a large bill, and says, "A very finely-dressed gentleman, with great kindness to me, took more of my stock than I have sold in a week before. He took, indeed, all I had; and, when I could not change his bill, he took my little collection of coppers, and filled his pocket with them,

and gave me this large bill. Am I not blessed to-day?" — "Madam, that is a counterfeit bill." — "What, what! The wretch!" — "Yes. But, madam, have you not heard that the great Theodore Parker says that every fall is a fall upward? Philosophy teaches that all evil is evanescent. By many a long and winding slope every man shall attain at last supreme felicity. This man has perhaps heard, as you have not, that sin is needful to our development. He is getting command of his faculties." [Applause.]

Will you conduct law and business and politics on the principles of a lax, unscientific, lawless liberalism? Not while men are men. Do not ask me, then, to adopt fundamental principles in religious theory and practice which you will not adopt in any secular theory or practice. The scientific method asserts the unity and the universality of law. Dissonances with the nature of things are the mothers of whirlwinds.

Next I find in Theodore Parker *a self-contradiction concerning the penalties of sin.*

In his early manhood he said, "Punishment may be eternal" (Weiss, *Life*, vol. i. p. 66). And all through his life he held the intuitional philosophy, which proves that there may be free, final permanence in moral character: therefore all his life he held principles which would undermine his certainty as to optimism being the piety of science. While he was consistent with his philosophy, he could not deny that a man *may* fall into free, final permanence

of character: therefore he never had authorization from the scientific method to assert, that, to the wickedest, life is no absolute failure, or that Judas Iscariot, Cain, and the kidnapper may die in their crimes, and yet be sure of final felicity.

Gentlemen, I beg you to fasten searching attention on the last door through which, I will not say evasive, but insufficiently clear and serious thought retreats, when brought face to face with the scientific method on the topic of eternal permanence of character. Will you tell me whether this height of bliss to which God is to lift man through suffering is finite or infinite? Finite, of course you would say. Finite beings are capable of being lifted only to a finite degree of happiness. Very well, then; suppose that all punishment, here and hereafter, produces increased bliss at last: when the highest ascending slope has been reached, that bliss will yet be a finite quantity, will it not? Let us here be straightforward as sunbeams. A finite being can have only a finite bliss: therefore, even God can lift a finite being only to a finite degree of bliss. The highest bliss, then, which you will attain by your method of managing the universe will be a finite degree of bliss. Now, could not Omnipotence have lifted finite beings to a finite degree of bliss without any suffering on their part as a penalty of sin, or without their sinning, and thus incurring punishment? Yes; you know it could. Omnipotence can do any thing that is an object of power: that is, any thing not involving a self-contradiction.

There is no self-contradiction in supposing that God could lift finite beings to the highest bliss of which they are capable, and yet not use as his instrumentality the suffering induced by sin. Assuredly he could do this. Why has he not done it? You say that all suffering of punishment for sin is intended to make men more happy at the last. But it will not; for it cannot make them more happy than God might have made them without it. To the highest bliss of which they are capable, God could lift men up without their suffering any of the pains induced by sin. *Why does he not do this?* Penal pain and innocent pain are to be distinguished from each other as remedial agents. Suffering which is the result of sin, and suffering which is not the result of sin, are two very different things. It is not denied here that the latter form of suffering may be necessary to the highest good of the universe, but only that suffering as the result of sin is thus necessary. Are sin and the suffering it induces necessary to the highest good of the universe, as your theory implies? If so, then the sin is necessary. *Who, then, is responsible for sin?* That is the inexorable question which comes at last before every man who cares for clear thought, and faces the fact that sin and its penalties, with self-propagating powers, now exist; and when you have gazed long enough into that quarter of the heavens, you will be apt to make up your minds that yours is the theory, and not mine, that calls in question the Divine benevolence.

As Dean Mansel and Whately and many others

have said, "God is an infinite God now. God is an infinitely powerful God now; God is infinitely good now; God has been infinitely powerful and good for the last six thousand years: but now sin exists; now the earth groans under what ought not to be; and for six thousand years sin and its suffering have been in progress." Yes; but you explain all that by saying that every thing is coming out by and by — into what? Into a finite degree of bliss. God could have reached that without the existence of the suffering caused by sin. Why did he not? If you please, the universe is more serious than is dreamed by men who solace sin by affirming that it can never be too late to mend, and that character does not tend to a free, final permanence, bad as well as good. That sentiment is a web woven in the looms of luxury, and gilded there, but one that will not bear the weight of absolute seriousness, conducting research by the scientific method. Whatever outrages science will be found to solace sin.

In Theodore Parker's writings, as in nearly all productions of a like school in thought, there are abundant *self-contradictions as to the character of our Lord and the authority of the New-Testament literature.*

1. At twenty-four years of age Parker believed that Christ was miraculously born. "Christ was the Son of God born in a miraculous manner" (i. 66).

2. At twenty-six he wrote a sonnet in praise of the Son of man as perfect.

3. At thirty-four he thought that possibly Jesus may have taught errors.

4. At thirty-six he thinks there may one day be a greater man than Christ. "God has yet greater men in store, I doubt not" (i. 429).

5. At forty-two he thinks Christ certainly made mistakes in his teaching.

6. At forty-nine he says the negro washerwoman who keeps the wolf from her unfathered babes, all fugitives from slavery, is not less glorious than Jesus of Nazareth on the mountain uttering his Beatitudes.

Now thus far there is no self-contradiction, only change of opinion. Do not suppose I mistake mere change of opinion for self-contradiction, although vacillation is a trait of crudeness of thought. What was Parker's final thought?

7. In his latest years he says that "our Lord's theology contained a considerable admixture of error."

8. *But* the Christianity of Christ, he thinks, was a perfect religion. "To me the name of Christianity," he says, "is most exceeding dear."

Goethe would have reproved Parker; for Goethe used to say, "Tear out of the New Testament faith in the veracity of Christ as to the fact of the supernatural, and there is not enough left to build faith on in regard to any other particular." Parker did the former, and then attempted to eulogize the trustworthiness of one who, as Parker affirmed, was yet to be surpassed, and had taught many errors. Thus Theodore Parker plays fast and loose with the his-

toric evidence of the supernatural in Christianity, and then calls in as aid to his scheme of thought a mass of historic refuse, good for nothing, according to his own testimony, as evidence. This self-contradiction has so often been pointed out in the arguments of outgrown sceptics, that Strauss was consistent enough in his lonely, last years, as some of Parker's followers now are, to drop the name Christian.

No one, even among Theodore Parker's friends, has built heavily on his foundations; and how can you expect me to build on them? Where is the man that is constructing a temple to-day with Theodore Parker's characteristic propositions as cornerstones? He is not in Boston: he is not in New York. Mr. Frothingham says that Theodore Parker will have no immortality as a religious philosopher. Let us grant him immortality as a crowned hero and martyr in the conflict with slavery; let us say that he was too busy, as he faced the foe, to think out a system in philosophy on this yet crude shore. America is young in all that pertains to deep metaphysical research. My main motive in criticising this antislavery hero is to show that Boston, as yet, has not hewn out any stone in philosophy that is fit to be put down as a corner of a temple of religious science. You have cut out from the mountains of research many a strong piece of marble for other structures; and some of you think that Theodore Parker hewed out what must lie at the corner of a philosophical religion. Julius Müller, and not Theo-

dore Parker, is the best teacher of the Absolute Religion. Our transcendentalism in New England has not uttered a final word. We are not as far advanced in philosophy as we suppose. Germany thinks so little of New England in this particular, that you can find all she says of our philosophy in five or ten pages of any history on the course of metaphysical thought in these last decades. We overrate ourselves. Frothingham, who is nearest to being Parker's successor, will not bear his own weight on that stone which Theodore Parker hewed out. There is not a church of the liberal sort that to-day bears its weight on that stone, considered merely as the basis of a philosophy. Can you expect me to build on it, when Plymouth Rock lies here to be the corner-stone of philosophy, of politics, of society, of church, of factory, of school, and to be blessed in the future as it has been in the past? [Applause.]

V.

THE ATONEMENT IN THE LIGHT OF SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH.

THE SEVENTY-FOURTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE APRIL 16.

"Quid refert igitur, quantis jumenta fatiget
Porticibus? quantâ nemorum vectetur in umbrâ?
Jugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes?
Nemo malus felix."

JUVENAL: *Sat.* iv. 5.

"NON sumus nostri, sed pretio empti, et quali pretio? Sanguine Dei." — TERTULLIAN: *Ad Uxor.*, ii. 3.

V.

THE ATONEMENT IN THE LIGHT OF SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

It is recorded by Tacitus, with some surprise, that in the marshes of the Rhine there lived a tribe of Finns, who were so degraded as not to believe in the efficacy of prayer. An obscure infidel sheet in Boston has lately said, "The whole teaching of Free Religion concerning prayer is concentrated in this short maxim, Never pray, if you can help it." In a straightforward course of thought it is necessary to admit that sometimes we cannot help praying. From the point of view of science this conceded fact means more than much. "At their wits' ends all men pray," Shakspeare says. But what all men do, and cannot help doing, is instinctive. The existence of an organic or constitutional instinct is adequate scientific proof of the existence of its correlate. Wherever we find a fin, there has been provided water to match it; a wing, air to match it; an eye, light to match it; a migrating instinct, a climate to match it. The instinct of petition is no exception to the rule

that God creates no hunger to mock it. Hegel and Emerson call prayer the highest act of the human spirit. The proof of the efficacy of prayer is its naturalness.

Nothing subdues will like already subdued will. Decision for one's self is the best teacher of decision to others. All prayer is vain repetition unless it include the petition, Thy will be done in me as in heaven. It means, among other things, a subdued will; and so, when a Christian worthy of the name offers prayer with one who is not yet religiously resolute, great natural laws show their force. The contagion of a religiously subdued and rejoicing will is brought to bear upon a will as yet unsubdued. Boston, Eastern Massachusetts, New England, are witnessing at this moment, in many lives, that mystery which for eighteen centuries has been called the new birth. It is not heresy nor novelty to teach that God converts the soul according to the natural laws of the soul. What are some of the spiritual laws which are now in such subtle operation close around us, and undoubtedly are at all times capable of doing what we see them effecting now?

Prayer, it has commonly been taught, has four elements, — adoration, confession, thanksgiving, petition. I hold that we must always add a fifth part, namely, total self-surrender. The four parts without the fifth are what the Scriptures call vain repetition, and not prayer. Whoever offers prayer in all its five parts may be assured, in the name of natural law, that he will obtain religious aid of a kind that he can

receive from no other source. Men who revere the scientific method will admit that experiment is the crucial test of truth. *Who dares try the experiment of prayer in the sense of total and affectionate self-surrender to God?* A Boston scholar has lately told the public that a somewhat rough man of affairs in this city, in the presence of the American evangelist, thought he would be manly enough to try the experiment of offering prayer. "But," said the latter, "you must be sincere."—"I know very little of this thing," the man replied; "but I am willing to be sincere in one prayer at least."—"Very well," said the evangelist, "let us kneel down, here and now, together; and do you say from the depths of your heart, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'" The merchant did that; and I suppose, from what followed, that he did it in a genuine way. Certain it is that there struck across that man's countenance a beam of light from the sun behind the sun, a peace and an illumination unknown to him before. He rose up, saying, "This is a singular experience. My partner, do you do as I have done, and perhaps there will be similar results." The partner was a sceptic; but he knelt and offered the prayer, "God be merciful to me a sinner;" and he, too, rose up, smitten across the forehead with the light that falls out of those ancestral spaces from which all souls come, and into which all men haste. Facts like these are the chief news of this serious day. Boston loves clear ideas. You say, "All this is mystery." It is fact, however, as age after age can witness. But analyze this greatly suggestive scene a little.

What is implied in the words, God be merciful to me a sinner?

1. That there is a God.
2. That there is a moral law.
3. That the moral law represents the will of a person.
4. That the law and the person have unconditional authority.
5. That I ought to obey that authority.
6. That I could have done what I ought.
7. That my will is free.
8. That I freely refused to do what I ought.
9. That the ill-desert of this refusal is wholly mine.
10. That I cannot remove this ill-desert from myself.
11. That there is obligation existing on my part to satisfy the violated majesty of the law.
12. That my own future good works cannot meet this obligation.
13. That God's mercy must meet it for me, if it is to be met at all.
14. That I implore God's mercy so to meet it.
15. That I trust myself implicitly to his mercy.
16. That I do so with entire freedom from the spirit of self-righteousness.
17. That I do so in the spirit of rejoicing loyalty to a personal Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier; one God, who was, and is, and is to come.
18. That in all these beliefs I hold propositions, which, in my business and my family, in public and in secret, I mean to transmute into action.

This prayer, "God be merciful to me a sinner," is the articulate voice of an organic instinct. But it contains these eighteen and more propositions, which are thus not slightly emphasized by the structure of human nature. Transmute these beliefs into deeds, saturate society with these propositions, and have they any force? Is it any mystery that men who offer this prayer sincerely are smitten through and through by a redemptive illumination? These rays are javelins out of the light of the Great White Throne. Let them permeate business, politics, education, the newspaper press, literature, and all private life. The mystery of conversion! — if there were not conversion when a man seriously and gladly submits himself to the practical application of all these propositions, that would be a mystery. I am not denying at all that there is supernatural action in every case of conversion; but I defy any form of clear thought to show that these propositions are not all in the prayer, "God be merciful to me a sinner." I defy any man to justify in the name of science the Finns of Flanders or of Boston for not offering that prayer.

Two hundred churches in New England are uniting with Boston in special services. Your newspaper press affirms that thirty thousand people were at the Tabernacle yesterday. Business-men's prayer-meetings crowd their places of assembly. The hush of God's work, through natural and supernatural laws, is in Boston.

Some simpleton in clerical garb said lately to that

theologian of Andover who has done more for religious science in this country than any other man since Jonathan Edwards, "Is it not singular that Providence should effect so much through inferior laborers? It must be admitted that the Lord has done much in Boston through weak instruments." — "I wish," said Professor Park in reply, "to be reverent in speaking of the work of the Lord; but Mr. Moody is a great man." [Applause.]

A great man! "There are no great men," Professor Park would, with Massillon, have said in another mood: "God only is great." A smaller Frenchman than Massillon — Renan — wrote not long ago, "We never shall keep the world in order until science has learned how to explode the globe. Then we shall say to the Philistinish masses, Peace under penalty! The power of natural law is behind us." But there are natural laws, which, instead of exploding the globe, will explode all its icebergs,

> "Unlock the zone, the ice-fields clothe with wheat,
> And make God's pathway round the world complete."

It is scientifically certain that Christianity is in possession of the theory of those laws; and if she were only in the practice of them!

Take your rough bit of glass, and hew it here and there, and you have not made a prism; but, as soon as you have produced a prism, that instant the light striking through it is unravelled, and you have by natural laws a revelation not to be imagined before you see the colors. Let a man surrender to God;

let him hew himself into a religious prism which has reason, conscience, and self-surrender to God, as revealed in his word and works, for its three sides, — and the instant that posture of total, affectionate, irreversible self-surrender, is reached, God will flash through the human faculties: the seven colors will fall on your face, on your families, on public life, on all the greed and fraud of American civilization, and give you as a people that coat of many colors which shall prove you to be the beloved son of the Father as a nation. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

When a man has wilfully violated the radiant moral law, it is instinctive, if the eyes are kept open to its light, to feel that something ought to be done to bring about satisfactory relations between the rebellious spirit and the Author of that insufferably resplendent moral enactment. What ought to be done? The soul should acquire similarity of feeling with God. Without that its peace is scientifically known to be a natural impossibility. But is that enough? Face to face with self-evident truths, can an unfettered human spirit which has behind it a record of disloyalty find intelligent and wholly tremorless peace, even after it is delivered from the love of what ought not to be? When an evil man has reformed, does he have a scientifically justifiable right to feel that his own excellence, taken wholly alone, *ought* to secure his entire harmony with the nature

of things? What do the organic and ineradicable human instincts, scientifically interpreted, say on this point?

Lady Macbeth, Shakspeare tells us, could not wash her hands white, although she had learned to hate her crime so as to be made insane by the memory of it.

Doctor. — Look how she rubs her hands!

Gentleman. — It is an accustomed action with her to seem thus washing her hands. I have known her to continue in this a quarter of an hour.

Lady Macbeth. — Yet here's the spot.

Doctor. — Hark! she speaks. I will set down what comes from her.

Lady Macbeth. — Out, damned spot! out, I say! . . . Here's the smell of the blood still. All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand.

Doctor. — More needs she the divine than the physician. God, God, forgive us all!

Macbeth, act v. sc. 1.

Is your Shakspeare a partisan, when, describing in Macbeth the laws of human nature, he makes him say, —

"Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No: this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green — one red."

"Methought I heard a voice cry, 'Sleep no more!
Macbeth does murder sleep,' — the innocent sleep,
Sleep that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care,
The death of each day's life, sore labor's bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast.

Still it cried, 'Sleep no more!' to all the house:
'Glamis hath murdered sleep; and therefore Cawdor
Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more.'"

"I could not say 'Amen'
When they did say 'God bless us.'"

Lady Macbeth. — *Consider it not so deeply.*
Macbeth. — But wherefore could I not pronounce "Amen"?
I had most need of blessing, and "Amen"
Stuck in my throat.
Lady Macbeth. — These deeds must not be thought
After these ways: so, it will make us mad.

Ibid., act ii. sc. 2.

These deeds must be thought of after these ways; so, it will make us wise.

Not Plato, not Aristotle, not Voltaire, not Strauss, not Renan, not Parker, can wash Lady Macbeth's red right hand.

Shakspeare describes the laws of your sleep and mine.

Instead of great literature, do you prefer actual life, to illustrate the laws of human nature? A schoolmate of mine lately committed murder. He was a foremost man in a church. He was nearly fifty years of age. Through thirty years he had suffered from an unhappy marriage. God knows what his trials had been. But the man was sane. He was in health. Not a whisper has been raised in his defence, although he is to be tried for his life in a few weeks. Coming home from an evening gathering, his wife and he passed into their house together, apparently at peace with each other. Half

an hour later, when she was asleep, the monster with an axe took his wife's life.

Do not avert your gaze, my friends, from this lurid point of light. The narrative is of a piece with much else that has actually happened in the nights and days of our softly rolling globe; and yet you say it is not philosophy. I affirm that events like these are facts, and that philosophy must face facts of every description, or once for all cease to call itself scientific. This piercing gleam out of experience is blue fire, indeed; but not a little radiance of that sort has crept before now through the volcanic crevices of the world. When by this ominous but actual lamp you gaze intently upon the glitter of this axe, and upon the flashing of the afterward dripping blood, you will find that many problems as to the peace of the soul are here exposed to view, under a flame intense enough to permit their scientific examination.

Both these persons were my schoolmates. I knew each of them well, and think I have some reason to say that I understand what, probably, the whole interior sky was in this man. One of the things that proved his guilt, aside from his confession, which he made at the end of a week, was a remark which he curiously enough repeated to his neighbors months before his crime: "Can I not repent, even if I do a great wrong, and so repent as to go to heaven? Is it not taught that a man may repent and be saved, although he does something very bad?" The man was not well educated. He had in his mind the query, whether one might not commit some atrocity, and

yet repent, and by the good grace of Almighty God, who is of too pure eyes to behold iniquity, be saved through the Atonement. Perhaps he thought heaven was a place rather than a state.

Confucius said on the Yellow Sea, "Heaven means principle." What if a man permanently loses principle? must he or must he not lose heaven? Under the law of judicial blindness, is it possible for a man to lose principle permanently?

This man, befogged but not insane, took up the theory — this was proved before the jury — that he might commit murder, and yet afterward repent, and go to heaven. And he committed murder; and I think his chief temptation, aside from vexatious married life, was that lie whispered to him out of the very bowels of Gehenna, that the Atonement is enough to save a man who makes a bargain of it, and tries to cheat God. That man did on a large scale what it is possible you and I have been trying to do on a small scale. We do not commit murder; but we would, if we had our own way, very gladly cheat God of half our life at least, because we remember that we can repent at last, and all will come out well. Some men think, that, if they repent after they go out of this life, all will be well: that is rather a large application of this principle.

Pardon me, gentlemen; but you must be shocked into due attention to the monstrous caricatures of religious truth which often exist in half-educated minds, and which underlie a large part of the infidel attack on Christianity in this latest age, as they have underlaid every attack in every past age.

In this kind of analysis of the actual and typical experiences of men, I find more philosophy than I can put into an hour's declamation. Here is a gleam right out of human nature, and from our day; and I wish you to look at it while we ask how far self-evident truth can teach us what the Atonement can do. I affirm that the Atonement must be something that does not bargain with God for a piece of life or the whole of it. It must not undermine principle. We are assured by self-evident truth, that the Atonement, if it is to be effectual, must in some way provide for similarity of feeling with God. Conscience, with all its great operations, exists in us, and is going on into the Unseen Holy with us; and we must be at peace with all its multiplex lines of activity.

This man committed murder deliberately. Perhaps he now has had grace given him to loathe his crime. In his cell he sings hymns, it is said; is glad to receive religious solace; hopes that his execution may be the gateway to heaven; and his reliance is all in the Atonement. He really has come to hate, let us suppose, all that God hates, and to love all that God loves. He has, let us grant, what is called the new birth. *Does that erase or cover the record of the murderer?* Let us be mercilessly straightforward in our answer to this question; for it touches your case and mine. I am approaching a fundamental self-contradiction of the lawless and sharply mischievous dreaming of many, as to the nature and sequences of our refusal to say "I will" when the Divine Voice says "I ought." This man has learned to loathe the

murder; but the record of his crime is behind him. Do you think that he is, or ought to be, at peace, simply because he really loathes every thing that leads to murder? Here is a question which I put before you in the name of the scientific method, begging you to look on it with a love of clear ideas, and wholly apart from any conclusions in religious science. Do you think that human nature, with the great operations of conscience in it, and especially with that prophetic office which anticipates the continuance of the approval and disapproval which we know inevitably follow our acts, good and bad; that sense that this approval or disapproval is not only from ourselves, but from a Somewhat and Some One who is in us, but not of us, is likely to allow this man, in the name of his own excellence alone, to be wholly at peace about this record of murder, even after he has reformed? Let us fasten our thoughts on this one phase of human experience, typical of range after range of human crime, and let us, if possible, attain clearness on the subject, whatever theory stands or falls. "*Was klar ist, wahr ist*," the Germans say, — "What is clear is true." There is a whole range of liberal thinking which asserts, that, when a man reforms, he has done enough; and that style of thought I wish to test — by what? By the street; by the axioms of self-evident truth applied by the scientific method. My schoolmate who has murdered his wife has repented, let us say; and he is at the edge of death itself. It may be that the first spirit he will meet in the Unseen Holy will be that which he sent

thither before its time. No, not the first spirit: he will meet God there. He meets God now. In conscience, the still small voice is God's voice. He listens to that; he remembers the past; he knows he has learned to loathe his crime: but is that enough? Was it enough for Macbeth? Was it enough for Lady Macbeth?

When a great question concerning the organization of human nature comes up, the best way to decide it is to notice not only the deepest literatures of the world, but a long range of experience in history, and see how man has acted age after age. Have the nations acted as if they thought reform was enough to give peace after a great crime has been committed? We know that the heathen religions of the world have given large space to penance and sacrifice. I do not wish to exaggerate the amazing record; but there is enough to show that more than much has been done age after age, in history, by this desire to be at peace with conscience and with what is to be met behind the veil. These heathen religions have indicated in unspeakable ways that peace is not attained even after reformation. The devotees of those religions have desired to be calm before God; and many deep teachers have taught, with more or less distinctness, the necessity of loving what God loves, and hating what God hates. But how has the human heart acted? The whole history of the race, I claim, has proved that men in general have not felt ready to go before God in their own righteousness even after they have reformed. My

schoolmate here has learned to hate his murder; and now he must go before God. He has the righteousness, let us hope, of loving and hating what God loves and hates; but there is that past behind him. *Conscience is in him; and now, when the operations of conscience have their free course, is that man, as he steps into the Unseen Holy, ready to depend on nothing but his own righteousness?*

Gentlemen, the greatest question in religious science is before you, and, I hope, in such a concrete form as to be intelligible. Keeping now your unpartisan and fathomless Shakspeare open, and not removing your thoughts from this concrete case of to-day, will you allow me to recite analytically a few self-evident truths concerning the Atonement?

1. It is self-evident that a thing cannot be and not be at the same time and in the same sense.

If transcendentalism has a corner-stone of adamant, it is this axiom, — that a thing cannot be and not be at the same instant and in the same signification. When will a philosophy arise that will undermine a certainty without which philosophy itself cannot exist?

2. It is, therefore, self-evident that we cannot be at once at peace and at variance with conscience;

3. That we cannot be at once at peace and at variance with the record of our past;

4. That we cannot be at once at peace and at variance with God.

The supremely terrific and supremely alluring cans and cannots of the nature of things are all implied in

the words, "God cannot deny himself." Here we put our feet upon adamant which Thor's hammer cannot pulverize, without, at the same time, reducing itself to powder. The nature of things has in it no fate at all, but is the total outcome of God's free choice; and his free choice is the total outcome of his infinite perfection. He cannot deny himself; and so forever and forever it will be true that the axioms of the nature of things are adamant, not only for this world, but also for the next.

5. It is self-evident, that, while we continue to exist as personalities of the same plan we now exhibit in our natures, conscience will be something we cannot escape from.

> "The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

6. It is self-evident that our past is irreversible.

Do you say that when I assert in the name of the nature of conscience, and of the irreversibleness of the past, that there will be regret in the universe forever and forever on account of the losses sin has occasioned, and when I affirm that some part of that shadow will fall on the sea of glass, and will not be invisible from the Great White Throne, I come near uttering blasphemy? Does the Bible utter blasphemy when it says there is a Lamb slain from the foundation of the world? My proposition is only that biblical proposition in scientific shape. No doubt all the losses sin has caused were foreseen; and no doubt the plan for the rescue of men existed

in the councils of Omnipotence from eternity. No doubt there was, therefore, as the unsearchable depth of that metaphor asserts, a Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. He whom we dare not name had sympathy from the first for the distress he foresaw would result from the abuse of that gift of free-will, without which there can be no virtue. Forever and forever the losses caused by what ought not to have been will continue. The Scriptures, therefore, speak of a Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, or of a shadow that is not invisible, and never has been invisible, and never will be invisible, from the Great White Throne. Before you accuse scientific speech of blasphemy instead of biblical depth of metaphor on this theme, remember that the Atonement is not an afterthought. The plan of redemption is no insertion into the universe to correct mistakes. It is a part of the perfect purpose of Him who was, and is, and is to come, who, in all eternities past and in all eternities future, will be faithful to the plan which was, and is, and is to come. [Applause.]

7. It is self-evident that we cannot escape from our record;

8. That we cannot escape from God;

9. *That harmonization with our environment is the indispensable condition of peace of soul;*

10. *That our environment in this world and the next consists unalterably of God, conscience, and our record;*

11. That we must be free from the love of what ought not to be before we can be at peace with the moral law which requires what ought to be.

"Si vis fugere a Deo; fuge ad Deum," says the Latin proverb. "If you wish to flee from God, flee to God;" for the only way to flee from him is to flee to him.

12. It is scientifically incontrovertible that conscience produces in us a sense of ill-desert whenever we say "I will not" to the Divine "I ought;"

13. That conscience produces in us this sense of ill-desert, whenever we accurately remember the record of our intelligent refusal to say "I will" to the Divine "I ought;"

14. That no lapse of time lessens this sense of ill-desert, if the memory of such refusal is vivid and thoughtful.

Forty-eight hours ago we were passing through the anniversary of the assassination of President Lincoln. Some years have elapsed since that atrocity; but have our opinions changed as to the blameworthiness of the principal actor in it? If the assassination in 1865 ought not to have been, it will be true forever that it ought not to have been. It is a long time since the world had fixed opinions about Nero and Caligula; but we do not think of changing our opinions simply because of the passage of time. Do we not disapprove all that ought to be disapproved, and do so once for all? It is a terrible certainty that Judas Iscariot, if he ever blamed himself once justly, must continue to blame himself forever and forever. There is a noose that a man may put about his own neck and tie, but which he cannot untie. There is irreversibility in the past; and the action which ought

not to have been will always be regarded as such when we vividly and faithfully remember its character. It will be impossible for us not to disapprove such an action; for conscience is a part of our nature, and its natural operation is to disapprove all that ought not to be. *Murder ought not to have been; and Macbeth will never think that it ought to have been, or make it not to have been.* You were born in Boston: can Omnipotence make it true you were not born in Boston? You have done what ought not to have been: can Omnipotence make it true that what ought not to have been ought to have been? Conscience is so fearfully and wonderfully made, that you must forever and forever disapprove what ought not to have been. When a man has had an arm amputated, it cannot be put back: it is gone once for all.

How evident it is, that, under natural law, a man may drift on in careless æsthetic ways till he loses the perception of the beautiful! He learns to love that which æsthetically ought not to be; and he blunts his æsthetic sense until you say he could, by a long process of culture, be brought back perhaps, but never will be. You say his probation is over æsthetically. On every conceivable side, except the moral and religious, character is subject to probations, and attains permanence; but on these sides a whim of the luxurious ages forbids you to hear the truth which all great and strenuous ages have asserted, namely, that probations of course exist there as they do elsewhere. Undeniably there are æsthetical probations, physical probations, and intellectual probations. But

now you affirm, you who assert the unity of law, that there are no moral probations. Do you perceive any self contradiction in that intellectual proceeding?

14. It is a scientifically verifiable fact of experience, that conscience, when we keep our eyes open to light, produces in us, besides the sense of ill-desert, a feeling that something ought to be done to satisfy the rightly resplendent majesty and the plainly unconditional and eternal authority of the violated law which says "I ought."

If we have agreed up to this proposition, we shall not part here. Will you remember who committed the murder? What were you thinking a few minutes ago, when I outlined before you a typical human atrocity? The man has learned to loathe his crime. Were you ready to say that he had done enough? Something ought to be done besides his learning to be sorry that he had murdered his wife. You were very sure of this face to face with the concrete case. You say that this piece of current history is a fact, but that I am now leading you into vapor. Well, go back to that scrap of red-hot iron out of the pit, and touch it. It is not a fog. It burns up fog. It is, although blue flame, destructive of all vapor. And you, face to face with the concrete example, are not likely, in that man's case, to believe that the perfumes of Arabia will sweeten the hand that has driven the axe through the skull of the nearest and dearest. That man is not authorized to be at peace, even after he has reformed, if he depends only on his own excel-

lence. That alone cannot give him peace of soul; and the question is, whether any thing else can. One of the sceptical late schools of thought asserts that science knows nothing of Atonement for sin. All causes that are once put in action produce effects which become causes, and which must take their course. If we bring into existence evil causes, they will produce their natural effects; and we cannot erase or cover the past. The idea of a man being relieved from the natural results of his sin is in conflict with clear thought. These are propositions which just now are receiving indorsement from infidelity itself. Your old style of doubt is slowly undermined by the newer, I had almost said by that more Christian style, which is prepared to be amazed if it can be shown clearly that any great arrangement can deliver us from the terrors of the past. "Plato, Plato," said Socrates, "perhaps God can forgive deliberate sin; but I do not see how."

15. It is scientifically clear from the facts of personal and general experience, that, in the absence of satisfaction, conscience forebodes punishment;

16. It forebodes this with such pertinacity and force, that the prophetic action of conscience, or presentiment of penalty, according to the confession of all great literature and philosophy, makes cowards of us all;

17. That it forbodes punishment, not only in this life, but in time to come beyond death.

To and fro behind the veil, conscience, in anticipation, paces up and down, oftener than over any path in this

life. It would not thus by organic instinct pace up and down behind the veil, if there were nothing there. Did we anticipate nothing behind the veil, conscience could not make cowards of us all; for death would be release.

18. This foreboding has done as much work in the history of religion among men as any other instinct, and thus has proved its strength.

19. The foreboding does not cease when we become free from the love of sin.

Remember Lady Macbeth's fruitless use of water: look back to my schoolmate.

When the hoofs of the horses of his pursuers were rattling after him on the old Roman pavements, Nero caused himself to be put to death: he passed out of the world by virtual suicide; and history says that his look was not a look, but a glare. He had not been misled by a Christian education. A distinguished infidel had troubles of conscience; but he attributed them to a nervous shock he received in his youth. Nero did not receive any nervous shock in his youth; Caligula did not. Boston may probably have men in it who never had a nervous shock in youth, but who have illustrated all the great laws of conscience, and who have been made afraid before a Somewhat or a Some One in whom it has been said there is nothing to fear. "Since I was seven years old," Parker affirmed, "I have had no fear of God."

20. It is a scientifically verifiable fact of experience, therefore, that the absence of the love of sin in the present does not bring us to peace when we

vividly and thoughtfully recall our record of sin in the past, and allow our native instincts free course.

21. It is self-evident that personal ill-desert cannot be removed from person to person.

What! — sin not taken off us, and put upon our Lord? our guilt not borne by our Saviour? No; not in the sense in which you understand guilt. Blameworthiness is not transferred from us to him, and cannot be. We know that our Lord had no sin, and that there can be no removing of personal ill-desert from one personality, and putting it upon another. That word "guilt" is a fog, unless you remember that behind it lie two meanings.

22. Guilt signifies, first, personal blameworthiness; second, liableness to suffer in order to preserve the honor of a violated law.

In the former sense guilt cannot be transferred from person to person: in the latter it can be. Our Lord is no murderer, no perjurer. There is no divergence of theological opinion from self-evident truth when self-evident truth declares that personal demerit is not transferable from personality to personality. Ghastliest of all misconceptions ever put before this city or any other is the assertion that the doctrine of the Atonement implies, — first, that an innocent being is made guilty in the sense of being personally blameworthy; and, secondly, that that innocent being is punished in the sense of suffering pain for personal ill-desert. Both these propositions all clear thought discards, all religious science condemns. We have no doctrine of the Atonement

which declares that personal demerit is laid upon our Lord, or that, in the strict sense of the word, he suffered punishment; that is, pain inflicted for personal blameworthiness. He had no personal blameworthiness: he was an innocent being, as he always will be, and never did, can, or will suffer punishment in the strict sense of the word.

23. Guilt in the second sense, or liability to suffering in order to preserve the honor of a violated law, may be removed when the author of the law substitutes his own voluntary sacrificial chastisement for our punishment.

24. When such a substitution is made, the highest possible motives to loyalty to that Ruler are brought to bear upon the rebellious subject.

25. If any great arrangement on this principle has been made by the Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of the universe, that arrangement meets with exactness the deepest wants of man. It is the highest possible dissuasive from the love of sin: it is the only possible deliverance from the guilt of sin, in the sense, not of personal blameworthiness, but of liability to suffering in order to preserve the honor of the violated law, which says "I ought."

26. *Such a great arrangement may, therefore, with scientific exactness, be known to be needed, and so needed as to be called properly the desire of all nations.*

27. The Atonement which reason can prove is needed Revelation declares has been made.

On the slope of Beacon Hill, a New-England author, who ought always to be named side by side with

Pestalozzi, once made it a rule, in a school full of subtile thought, that, if a pupil violated its regulations, the master should substitute his own voluntary sacrificial chastisement for that pupil's punishment. Bronson Alcott will allow me to say here and now, in his presence, that he has told me that this one regulation almost Christianized his school. The pupils were quite young, and for that reason the measure was effective among them. He was no dreamer. He would never have adopted this measure except with the sensitive. Nevertheless, the operation of these untutored, hardly unfolded, and therefore spontaneously natural hearts, indicates what man is. "One day," says Bronson Alcott, "I called up before me a pupil eight or ten years of age, who had violated an important regulation of the school. All the pupils were looking on, and they knew what the rule of the school was. I put the ruler into the hand of that offending pupil; I extended my hand; I told him to strike. The instant the boy saw my extended hand, and heard my command to strike, I saw a struggle begin in his face. A new light sprang up in his countenance. A new set of shuttles seemed to be weaving a new nature within him. I kept my hand extended, and the school was in tears. The boy struck once, and he himself burst into tears; and I constantly watched his face, and he seemed in a bath of fire, which was giving him a new nature. He had a different mood toward the school and toward the violated law. The boy seemed transformed by the idea that I should take chastisement

in place of his punishment. He went back to his seat, and ever after was one of the most docile of all the pupils in that school, although he had been at first one of the rudest." My friends, you know that I believe that law is a unit throughout the whole extent of time and space, and that, if you can measure a little arc of the moral law as exhibited in this school of the Concord philosopher, you will obtain some glimpse of the principle on which the Atonement operates.

28. The definition of the Atonement is, the substitution of the voluntary sacrificial chastisement of Christ for man's punishment.

Why do I make a distinction between chastisement and punishment? Because facts require me to do so. In this example was Bronson Alcott punished? Not at all. Was Bronson Alcott guilty? Not at all. Was the personal demerit of that pupil transferred to Bronson Alcott? Not at all. Such transference of personal demerit is an impossibility in the nature of things. Nevertheless, we have in Boston a school of theology and preaching, and a wide range of popular sentiment, which regards Christianity as teaching, in the doctrine of the Atonement, a self-contradiction, an absurdity; namely, the idea that personal demerit is transferred from one individual to another.

James Martineau says that the idea of a vicarious Atonement is abhorrent to him, because it includes the idea that Christ, an innocent being, was punished. I wish to admit that Orthodoxy has been careless in her phrases again and again. I do not know how

many have been thrown into the lawless license of liberalism by that misconception of the Atonement which asserts that in it an innocent being was punished, and personal demerit was transferred. But law is one through the universe; and I have a perfect right to stand on this example of Alcott's school. I affirm that you know perfectly well that Bronson Alcott, in the strict sense, did not suffer punishment. He was innocent. What did happen? Bronson Alcott voluntarily accepted chastisement, not punishment. What is the definition of punishment? Pain inflicted for personal blameworthiness. What is chastisement? Pain suffered for the improvement of the one who suffers it, or for the benefit of those who witness it. Does the latter imply guilt? Not at all. A mother has a vicious son, and she has done her duty by him, let us suppose. She has no remorse; for I assume she is free from all guilt for her son's bad habits; but she suffers terribly. Is that pain punishment? No, chastisement. We must make this distinction, in Boston at least, where so long the caricature has been placarded on the highest walls, asserting, that, in the Atonement, punishment is inflicted on an innocent being, and personal demerit transferred. I never was taught that Christ suffered punishment. I had to learn out of books that any one made it an objection to Christianity that an innocent being was punished. If religious science will begin the fashion, and never use a term of importance without defining it, I for one will try to keep step with that fashion as one of the most blessed of all modern improvements,

and one I should like, by the contagion of general acceptance, to force upon all who differ from Christian views. In defining saving faith we must distinguish chastisement from punishment: the chastisement of our offences was laid upon our Lord. It is nowhere presumed in the Scriptures that personal demerit can be transferred from individuality to individuality.

What happened further in the school? Suppose that boy had been called up and punished a second time, after the master had been chastised, would that have been right? Would the school have said that was right? The master has accepted chastisement voluntarily; and now you cannot call that boy up, and punish him a second time. The school would say that is wrong. It is against all human nature to do that. Why? Because justice is satisfied? No; but because it has been sufficiently honored. Distributive justice is waived, while general justice is satisfied. What has the master done? He has so substituted his own chastisement for the pupil's punishment as to remove the liableness of the pupil to suffer in order to preserve the honor of the law of the school. But the master is not to blame? No. The master has not been punished? No. Assuredly this case, on the human side, looks intelligible: I think I can understand that side. But do you mean to say that in the arc of that little example are involved principles that sweep the whole curve of the Atonement, or show in part how God's chastisement was substituted for our punishment? Yes, by more than a glimpse; for law is the same everywhere.

The master paid the debt of that boy, you say. He did not pay it in the sense of removing the pupil's ill-desert, but only in that of removing his liableness to suffer to preserve the honor of the law of the school. The illustration is, of course, imperfect on many points; but on a few it is serviceable, and I present it only to throw light on these. It is perfectly clear that the pupil by his own act made himself liable to suffer in order to preserve the honor of the law he violated. If that liableness was to be removed, it was necessary something should be done; and the school would have gone to ruin if nothing had been done to preserve the honor of its law. I understand perfectly, too, that, when this boy goes back, a motive has been brought to bear on him that will transform him, if any thing can. Nothing can take hold of human nature like such condescension, justice, and love.

Would the boy have acted so if he had been a Greek boy? Any sensitive free being, man or angel, would have been affected as that boy was by the command to substitute the chastisement of the master for his own punishment. A new set of shuttles would have sprung into action in an Esquimau or a Greek boy in a similar case. I have seen a Greek boy whirl his top among the ruins of the Parthenon, and the Roman boy his top upon the old pavements that the chariot-wheels of Cæsar had scarred; and I think that any boy from any quarter of the globe would have felt, in the case supposed, that the master had not lowered the dignity of the

law of the school at all; that the law which had been violated had not been treated lightly; and that, if this boy wanted motives for loyalty, what he would need to do would be to remember vividly the chastisement of his master in place of his own punishment.

In the case of that scholar, guilt meant two things, — first, his own personal blameworthiness; second, his liability to suffer to preserve the honor and vindicate the authority of the law of the school. Now, guilt in the first sense never is removed (HODGE'S *Theology*, *passim*). It is not the doctrine of the Atonement that personal demerit is taken off a man by saving faith. It was always true of that scholar that he violated the law. His personal demerit had not been transferred to Bronson Alcott at all. The record of rebellion is always behind that boy. Only his liableness to suffering for the preservation of the honor of the law of the school has been removed. That latter sense of guilt is the meaning of the word when we say the Atonement removes man's guilt. *It is scientifically certain that, in the sense of removing this liableness, Bronson Alcott had power to pay the debt which that boy owed, and that he paid it by substituting his own chastisement for that boy's punishment.* That is a straightforward, plain case, and you can teach any honest man to see that distinction. Hereafter, when scepticism with its long-eared hallelujahs comes to you, and says that the Atonement is a doctrine outgrown by all clear thought, because it teaches that an innocent being was punished, and that personal demerit was transferred from one individual to

another, and that therefore advanced thought must abandon the central idea of Christian culture as plainly barbaric, the result of some Platonic interfusion of thought in the early centuries, or some heathenish inheritance from Judaism, in short, that this scheme is self-contradictory, or at war with axiomatic truth, please ask that singer of empty anthems to be clear himself; to state what he would say in a human case such as I have supposed; and then whether he dare affirm, in the name of the unity of law, which he proclaims as the first truth of science, that, if there has been any such Atonement made in the universe, it is not what we infinitely need.

My friends, exact and cool science knows with precision that we want just this more than unspeakably, if any thing like this has been done for us. We want it first, to pay our debt to the school of the universe, in the sense of removing liableness to suffering to preserve the honor of violated law; and, next, to give us immeasurable motives to loyalty. There is surely nothing that really changes the heart so quickly as a sight of this substitution of chastisement for punishment, whether it be in the human case of a school, or in the revealed case of the school of the universe. Lift this feeling of the poor boy into all the dignity it naturally assumes when you take it as a type of the moral law, a unit throughout the universe; lift that law until the arc we can measure has become the segment of a circle large enough to reach from here to the galaxies; and then let all the constellations shine on the circle as you carry

its line far past the spot over which Boötes is driving his hunting-dogs in their leash of sidereal fire; carry on that arc until stars fade out, and galaxies, and all the infinities and eternities of time past and time to come are embraced within it, and then what have you? One little point of light — the whole of it is no more — to hold up before the noon of Christ's chastisement substituted for man's punishment.

You wish to be born anew? Look on the Cross. You wish to take God gladly as your Lord? Look on him as your Saviour. You wish to drop all the heart-burdens of slavishness, and you desire to come into the obedience of delight? Look on the Cross. You want glad allegiance to God as King? Look on the Cross. There is nothing that frees us from the love of sin like looking on Him who has delivered us from the guilt of it.

Speaking philosophically, addressing you in the mood of cool precision, I affirm, that if the great things man wants are riddance from the love of sin, and deliverance from the guilt of it, we can obtain the first best, and the latter only, by looking on the Cross. Those old words have unfathomable depth; and he who is to be born anew must sit beside that pupil in Bronson Alcott's school, must imagine the benches to be the galaxies, and his human companions the angels and archangels who bow down on the golden floor, and on the shore of the sea of glass, and in presence of the Great White Throne, and cry out, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty; thou art worthy, for thou didst so love

the world that thou gavest thine only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

May I summarize the scientific truths contained in this discussion by asserting, in the name of the axioms of the nature of things, that it is clear? —

1. That the master of that school was not guilty.

2. That he suffered, in the strict sense, not punishment, but chastisement.

3. That he had power to remove from the pupil the liability to suffer to preserve the honor of the law of the school.

4. That the pupil's peace before the law of the school is the result not of his own work, but of the master's work; and not of the master's moral influence and general character merely, but of his substitution of chastisement for punishment.

5. That, nevertheless, the pupil must be loyal to the master, and thus, though not saved by works, cannot be saved without works.

6. That it is not simply the moral influence, or character and general example, of the master which transforms the boy into the mood of loyalty.

7. But that this substitution of voluntary sacrificial chastisement for punishment is the force which throws the shuttles that weave a new character in the soul thus delivered from punishment; and that although the record of disobedience cannot be changed, and must be remembered with regret, such memory, when loyalty is once made so perfect in love and trust as to cast out fear, will be but a spur to

adoration of the condescension shown to the released soul; and, in the multitudinous anthem of its gratitude, this shadow on the sea of glass will, for that spirit only, be by contrast an enchantment of the glory of the light on the sea of glass. [Applause.]

On a summer evening, it has often been to me, on both sides of the Atlantic, a solemn joy to lie down alone at a grove's edge by the side of the ocean, and look into the infinite azure until the stars appear. In the rustle of the grove, one may hear thus all the forests of all the zones of the thrifty, jubilant, wheeling world; the soul may touch all shores with the howling, salt, uneasy sea. As the stars come out, I love to lift above my thoughts Richter's apologue, which represents an angel as once catching a man up into the infinite of space, and moving with him from galaxy to galaxy, until the human heart fainted, and called out, "End is there none of the universe of God?" And the constellations answered, "End is there none that ever yet we heard of." Again the angel flew on with the man past immeasurable architraves, and immensity after immensity, sown with rushing worlds; and the human heart fainted again, and cried out, "End is there none of the universe of God?" And the angel answered, "End is there none of the universe of God: lo! also, there is no beginning." But if, while I, thus entranced, look into the sky, you bring above my gaze the page of the gospel recording the fact of the Atonement, all other revelations of the divine glory appear in contrast but chaff and dust.

VI.

THE HARMONIZATION OF THE SOUL WITH ITS ENVIRONMENT.

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE APRIL 23.

"Inter bonos viros ac Deum amicitia est, conciliante virtute: amicitiam dico? immo etiam necessitudo et similitudo. — SENECA: *De Provid.*, 1.

"Et metus ille foras præceps Acheruntis agendus,
Funditus humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo,
Omnia suffundens mortis nigrore, neque ullam
Esse voluptatem liquidam puramque relinquit."
LUCRETIUS: lib. iii. 37.

VI.

THE HARMONIZATION OF THE SOUL WITH ITS ENVIRONMENT.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

Suppose that I have here in one hand a goblet filled with alcohol, and in the other a spoon containing the white of an egg, and that I turn the egg out into the alcohol. What has science to say about moderate drinking? Precisely what this experiment proves. The albuminous substance in the white of the egg is hardened by the action of the liquid, and so hardened, that, if I could have put the egg in round, it would have been fixed in that shape, with such a degree of firmness as to permit me to roll it across this platform. All glue-like or colloid substances, as your books say, are hardened by alcohol, because they contain a large percentage of water; and we know that alcohol is as thirsty for water as ever an inebriate is for alcohol. But the brain and the nerves contain a great amount of this same colloidal or glue-like substance. Drench the blood with alcohol, and you harden the brain, as I have hardened this egg in the goblet. The very latest investigation begins to speak in tones

of great emphasis against moderate drinking, and this in the name of the natural effect of alcohol in hardening all the glue-like substances of the body.

We say that the heart beats faster when we indulge moderately in the use of intoxicating beverages, and that a cheerful flush comes to the face. But perpetual health is a perpetual intoxication. I had rather have the flush that our Anglo-Saxon ancestry gave us, and that we should keep if we loved the open sky as they did, or even open windows, as Charles Kingsley or Victor Hugo advise us to do, than any flush which comes, as alcohol brings it, by relaxing the nerve-fibres in the circulatory vessels. The quickening of the circulation of the blood by alcoholic stimulants was never quite understood until within the last twenty years, and perhaps not fully until within ten years. What makes the heart beat faster after moderate drinking? Is this hastened action a good effect or a bad? Is it disease, or is it the invigoration of the normal activity of the system? Suppose that I have here a steam-engine with India-rubber pipes. Around the pipes are delicate fibres constricting them, but liable to melt whenever the temperature of the room rises above a certain point. It is very evident, that, if I were to raise the temperature of the room to such a degree as to melt all these little constricting fibres from the India-rubber pipes of this steam-engine, the moment they were melted, or relaxed, the engine, without any more fire in its furnaces, would begin to move faster. Why? Because, by the melting

of the delicate fibres around the India-rubber pipes, the latter have themselves become relaxed, and so there is evidently less friction for the rushing steam to meet; and therefore, without any increased force or fire, you would have a quickening of the action of the engine. Would that result be an improvement of the normal conditions of the machinery? Not at all. It would be an indication of a disarrangement. Just so in the human system. We have now learned that even moderate drinking, in ninety cases out of a hundred, temporarily paralyzes the nerves that govern the minute muscles that hold the arteries and the veins in proper tension. This injury of the finest nerves allows the circulatory system to become relaxed, and so the heart beats faster; but there is no more force in the heart. The whole effect is like the acceleration produced in the motions of a watch when you take the pallets off the machinery. Dr. Richardson, fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, has lately told us in his "Cantor Lectures on Alcohol," a work introduced to America by Dr. Willard Parker, that "alcohol paralyzes the minute blood-vessels, and allows them to become dilated. The dilatation follows on the reduction of nervous control, which reduction has been induced by alcohol" (*Lecture* iii.). Therefore there is a flush in the face; and not only there, but the flush pervades the entire system, and especially the brain, for which everybody knows that alcohol has a peculiar local affinity.

Go to the Hunterian Museum in London, and men

will show you skeletons of two lions, both poisoned and with the same kind of poison. There is a mark on these skeletons at the point where that poison expended its chief force. All physicians know that poisons have a local action within the system, and that sometimes a rifle-ball has no more definite point of impingement upon whatever it is aimed at than a poison has in relation to the object against the welfare of which it is directed. We must remember that the special local affinity of alcohol is for the brain; that the relaxing of the fibres which allows the heart to beat faster is not a sign of health, but of disease; and that the moderate drinker, in ninety cases out of a hundred, is thus honeycombed through and through by this relaxation. Its effects are seen first in a lack of moral feeling. But when fever strikes him down, when cholera attacks him, when sun's heat and life's struggle come together, he breaks more easily than he otherwise would. In your remaining ten cases, perhaps, there may be apparent immunity for a while: but in old age a man is more brittle than he would be otherwise; and in the next generation what do you get? Why, when there is a confirmed and inveterate habit of wine-drinking, or other habitual and prolonged although moderate alcoholic stimulation, the succession of generations differs in character usually not very far from what it was in Webster's family, — colossal strength in the father of Webster, colossal strength in Webster, erratic strength in the son, lack of control in the grandson, — a boy who made

of his grandfather's amusements his whole occupation; and what the next generation would have been, the law of hereditary descent will tell you. Inexhaustible strength, eccentricity, moral weakness, and then the condition which your "Atlantic Monthly," choice about its language, describes by the adjective "spooney." Even giants may deteriorate to this stage in four generations.

Mr. Gough, who used to be paid nine dollars for three lectures, has lately made us all his debtors by a plea, in Christ's name, against moderate drinking. The Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world is shining now more intensely than in any previous century on the physical deteriorations that come from coarse bodily habits. On all the physical vices God is throwing the progress of the sciences, as we throw spadesful of earth on a coffin. "Apples of Sodom," "Circe's Enchantment," was the ancient language about all the physical vices; but the microscope and the scalpel are revealing to us, in characters of fire, the depth of those old metaphors. Physical vices are overrated, and, if exact science had her way, would be outgrown by all but the dissipated, who are always the dizzy-pated.

Christianity so values the body, that a Holy Sepulchre, where once an angel sat at the head, and another angel at the feet, not of a body, but of a place where a body had lain, drew to it all Europe in crusade after crusade, making the Italian cities rich, founding the Hanse towns, wrenching liberty for the municipal classes out of the gripe of nobles,

and so, in ultimate result, writing Magna Charta and the American Constitution. It is historically true to say that the crusades put the ballot in the poor man's hand, or began liberty; and they were in great measure the outcome of the reverence of Christianity for the incontrovertible fact that a physical frame had been the supreme human temple of the Holy Ghost.

In a similar spirit she and she only has for ages effectively taught what science at last proclaims, that, if any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are. It is a small sneer of scepticism that Christianity cares nothing for the flesh. Only she glorifies it. Only Christianity makes the home possible. Mr. Seward came back from a tour around the world; and the shrewdest thing he said about Asia was, "In all the East there is not a home."

In Athens, one night, walking to the south-east corner of the Acropolis, I looked down upon the great Dionysic Theatre, uncovered in 1862 by Hofbaurath Strack's German shovels. Some of the marble chairs, a few of the statues, half the seats, a multitude of the inscriptions, are still in their places. On one of the white thrones there is a lion's foot, with the tip of the claw yet savagely sharp, sculptured, perhaps, in Hadrian's time. Socrates once ironically commended Agathon, a poet, for having exhibited his wisdom in this theatre, or, at least, at this place, before thirty thousand spectators. Fully twenty thousand or thirty thousand people were accustomed to assem-

ble at dawn here, in a semicircle cut in the slope of the Acropolis, and to listen to tragedies, the voice of which even now, as we read them, is to the ear of thought a majestic philosophical or theological anthem. Æschylus and Sophocles and Euripides so taught ethics and religion, that the stage in the ancient Athenian democracy must be compared to the pulpit in modern times. Never was it the frivolous and sometimes filthy thing which is to-day called a theatre. Beneath the shadow of the Parthenon, and of Minerva herself, the free people sat down, as Æschylus says, "under the wings of gods." Along the beach at Phalerum, where Demosthenes declaimed to the waves, and beneath the sharp hills of Ægina and Salamis, the blue sea palpitated before the spectators. The chief part of the Ilissus plain, Mount Hymettus, the ancient Agora and Pnyx, and numberless temples, were in view: above the unroofed amphitheatre hung the infinite depth of the mysteriously soft and bright sky of Greece. Subtle allusions to this outlook, abounding in Euripides, Æschylus, and Sophocles, prove curiously in detail, that here Greek poetry, in the early spring mornings, found earth, sea, sky, and historic monuments a most organizing inspiration, and fit to match an audience composed of all that was then the most brilliant in the world.

Such was the theatre in ancient Athens. Would Euripides think it better than this in the modern Athens? Does the classic drama flourish here, or in New York, or in Chicago? Is not the low always

the slow æsthetically? But is the low always the slow financially? The abler portion of your secular press thinks it time to speak incisively of swindling theatrical amusements, as Æschylus would do were he here. When I find the less reputable local press keeping up full descriptions of what you want no sister or brother of yours to see, I am reminded that sometimes in a great palace in the city, if you keep open the bottom of a marble wash-bowl, there is in the untrapped lead-pipe a connection with the gutter, and diphtheria may assail you in the midst of luxury. Is it quite profitable for us to keep open the gilded pipe from the marble basin to the gutter? You remember the French proverb, as true in practice as in theory: "Where virtue ends, there vice begins." The slavehound is not to be more detested than the actress of a loathsome play. A loaferish woman can amuse only loaferish men. A scandal which woman meets with just indignation deserves abhorrence everywhere. We men are to blame, we men are to take excoriation, if, not imitating ancient Athens, we make a portion of the theatre such a scene, that had it been exhibited in the classic age of Greece, on that slope of the Acropolis where Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles taught, it would have been met there with loathing and all denunciation of it with Athenian acclaim. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

Mr. Gladstone is living now under a rapidly westering sun; and with the reverence of an empire,

whose morning drum-beat encircles the world, attending on every serious word he utters, he lately proclaimed that the centre of all preaching must be the Cross. At a conference held at the City Temple, Holburn Viaduct, March 22, after speeches by Englishmen and Americans, there were loud cries for Mr. Gladstone; and, among other memorable words, this adviser of that queen who governs one-sixth of the population of the world used these expressions, to which his whole career adds emphasis:—

"We are here with a great and mighty function, belonging from the first especially, almost exclusively, to revealed religion, — a function, the efficacy of which must undoubtedly depend, in the main, upon the matter which is preached. We are here as Christians; and *it is the preaching of Christ our Lord, which is the secret and substance and centre and heart of all preaching, not merely of facts about him and notions about him, but of his person, his work, his character, his simple yet unfathomable sayings: here lies the secret*" (*London Times*, March 23, 1877).

The two ablest Englishmen of our day are Scotchmen. When Thomas Carlyle and William Gladstone — under the light of a west almost cloudless, but not measureless in the visible stretch of azure yet to be rolled through by the chariots of their lives, — lean backward as they look forward, and from between the wheels that bear them on, and which never pause, speak to us out of the sunset, is it quite scientific, is it quite manly, is it quite womanly, for us whose chariots are yet at the zenith, or ascending the eastern slope of the azure, to forget that the sun moves towards the west as fast at noon as in the last

moment before that in which he fires the western pines? Gladstone and Carlyle, and our century, are westering and gazing on us with the solemnity of the hour into which all men haste. In the radiance which streams out of the morning, noon, and evening watch of the wheeling skies in which we rise and set but once, let us be willing to open any theme of religious science, and take all the results clear ideas require us to hold, whatever doctrine stands, or whatever doctrine falls. [Applause.] God looks through the morning, unstained radiance of life, those dewy, upstretching, far-penetrating, star-lit auroras, which reveal the intuitions, and primal, untutored human instincts. As once he looked through the pillar of fire in the morning watch, so yet, gazing through those auroras, he troubles the hosts of unscientific, irreligious thought. He looks also through the evening cloud, and troubles the hosts of Iscariotism, and takes off their chariot-wheels. Thor's hammer is engaged in that business.

In the light of previous discussions of the atonement, you must allow me to say that the following propositions — which are almost omnipresent in James Martineau's references to this topic, and in many discussions conducted by honored men here in New England, whom I need not name — are only a multiplex rustle of misconceptions. I do not call these statements misrepresentations; but they are misapprehensions which have done and are yet doing immortal mischief.

1. That Christ, although innocent, was punished.

2. That God punishes by substitution.

3. That, if a penalty for the violation of moral law be inflicted so as to maintain the honor of that law, God is indifferent on whom that punishment falls.

4. That God was at first disposed to show mercy, and was made placable by the death of Christ.

5. That the Atonement involves a transfer of moral qualities from person to person.

6. That pardon, and not merely the conditional offer of it, precedes the soul's self-surrender to God.

7. That the Atonement involves the injustice of liberating the guilty.

8. That it saves, irrespective of character, whoever has faith.

9. That it is inconsistent with the immutability of the Divine attributes.

10. That it represents the law of the nature of things as supreme over the Divine Will itself.

11. That, as the Atonement is provided for all, it secures the salvation of all.

12. That, if pardon can be obtained on the condition of faith merely, morality is unimportant.

These propositions evangelical scholarship not only does not teach, but abhors. [Applause.] Gentlemen, what you say here goes very much further than any thing I can present. Beware of approving statements of mine, for your indorsement makes language important. You have said, however, that all these propositions are caricatures; and yet, if you are right, there is hardly a professor's chair in any school of

unevangelical theology in New England that is not wrong in its fundamental representations of evangelical thought. [Applause.]

Opening only by glimpses the greatest theme which human, unassisted reason can touch, I must proceed analytically, and with what scholars, to whom I am not speaking, may perhaps think is unnecessary slowness. I desire to accompany you, this morning, in your ascent along one of the most modern pathways of thought to a mountain summit from which I hope the outlook will cause us to fall on our knees, and send us away with strength for many days. I am discussing the Atonement in the light of self-evident truth; and, if I am not using proof-texts, it is not because I undervalue them. On other occasions it is my duty to expound the Scriptures; but here the object is to show the connection between religious and other science. Andover Seminary yonder has just asked for funds to found a professorship with this title, "On the Connections between Theology and the other Sciences." May she obtain money in abundance for a purpose so timely and sublime, and may something better than wealth come to America out of such a foundation! In the field of the relations between religion and science, this Lectureship has for its object simply the discussion of the clear, the true, the new, the strategic. The best posture of mind is that which seeks first, not orthodoxy, but clearness. Of course, truth is immeasurably the highest object of consideration; but, when we say we

must seek truth first, such is the subtle action of prejudice, that truth is commonly understood to mean *my* truth, not *your* truth. Therefore let us first seek clearness, and not your truth or my truth. Clearness will not mislead us if we set it up as a goal; but our prejudgments as to what truth is may easily do so. Let us be true to the scientific method, and truth will take care of itself. Let us seek primarily to be distinct and straightforward, and only secondarily to be orthodox or heterodox. Let us not confuse ourselves with the slightest partisan prejudice. Let us keep all creeds out of our minds as much as possible, and seek first, midst, last, all that Intuition, Instinct, Experiment, and Syllogism can teach us, or perfect loyalty to the scientific method. [Applause.]

1. God wills man's perfection.

2. Man cannot be perfect without a perfect religion.

3. God, therefore, will give man a perfect religion.

In democratic ages small philosophers, whose rule of procedure is to guess at the half, and multiply by two, are great characters; but lost babes are greater, — those who think it the supreme philosophical glory never to come to a conclusion, and, on the whole, are of the opinion that the best thing we can do in the forest of human investigation is to lie down, after the ancient and not honorable example narrated in childhood's primers, and let the robins cover us with leaves. Unmanly, despairing bewilderment, and unconfessed, desponding, intellectual unrest thrive in more edu-

cated minds than we think, and this simply because we have masses of highly-cultured people who have never looked into religious thought as a science. Nearly all investigation of theology as a system of exact research has, little by little, been crowded into the distinctively theological schools. Almost nothing is taught on this theme in our colleges at present, because so much more matter is forced into their courses now than was there eighty or one hundred years ago. It is not because Harvard undervalues ethics or the Christian evidences, that she gives little time to them. Yale gives almost as little time. For my examination in ethics in Harvard University, I prepared in two days; and the examination ran through twenty-seven minutes. How much could I learn in that time on topics that have convulsed all highly-cultured thought on both sides of the Atlantic? If I had gone out from the University, and entered immediately upon the professional studies, and afterward, in regular course, upon the duties of a lawyer, how much time should I have had to have looked into religious science elaborately? It is said that no successful lawyer, in the full tide of the work of his profession, ever reads a book through. He examines, perhaps, as Carlyle does, or as Macaulay did, a dozen books a day, year after year; but he gets through them swiftly, as Macaulay did, by skipping. If I had taken the profession of medicine, it is probable I should have become absorbed, as I ought in duty to do, in that; and so religious truth as a science might never have come before me. Cultivated

minds, with wide gaps in their culture, are characteristic of an age of specialists; and ours is such an age. College-courses are intended to sharpen sickles, and not to reap the harvest. But the prepared reaping-hooks are, in nine cases out of ten, cast heedfully into ripe rustling grain only on the field of thought a man's profession or business compels him to enter. Even for the humble but indispensable purpose of sharpening dull sickles, four years are too few; and yet no more work can profitably be crowded into those years. The time occupied by the studies pursued at Harvard and Yale is already packed as full as an egg is with meat, and so full, that sometimes the egg will not hatch. One of the intellectual dangers of our time is the almost necessary existence of a wide circle of cultured minds well educated only on one side. In that class you find most of those who lie down in the tropical forests of modern thought, and say, "We cannot find the way home." I affirm that if there is a God, and if he is not a malevolent being, he not only has made a best way to live, but has made it sure that it is best to live the best way. He wills our perfection; and, if he is a benevolent being, he will not only give us a religion that will carry us to perfection, but he will make it so plain, that he who runs may read, if he will. Wherever in the forest a man wishes you to drop down in despair, there recall and recite the great *Credo:* That God wills man's perfection; that man cannot be perfect without a perfect religion; and that therefore God will give man a perfect religion, so clear that it will be the

light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. While I hold to a belief in God's goodness, I must believe, although I cannot know the map of all the forest, that there is a way home, and that I can find the path back to my Father's house! [Applause.]

Our surprising friends who believe that the universe is without a path home are the worst of the class of lost babes; but for five centuries to come probably theirs will be one of the most misleading of the temporary influences in the circles of merely professional or special culture. If this is the condition of many who have been liberally educated, what shall be said of the masses of average men of strong minds and inextensive studies, whose heads are buried in their ledgers and newspapers, and who have not time to look at religious truth as a science, until clearness is reached concerning it, and do not know by their own investigation what to think, and in a democratic and scientific age are little likely to take any thing for granted or on authority? Democratic ages can never be taught *ex cathedra*. All men must think for themselves; and so all men must be taught how to think. It is, therefore, worth while for public educated discussion to put in the foreground axioms, self-evident truths, intuitions, instincts, or the nature of things, and to let men see, that, after all, the great truths we cannot help believing are the things of most importance to us. We know we are dependent beings. We know we did not create ourselves. We are here; and once we were not here. Our coming into existence was a change. Every change must

have an adequate cause. There is a Power above us. If we are dependent beings, there must be an independent Being. Just as there cannot be a here without a there, an upper without an under, so there cannot be a dependent being without an independent, that is, a self-existent Being. If we can induce men to attend to the scientific certainty, that, without similarity of feeling with that Being, their peace is a natural impossibility; if we can cause them to feel that their consciences are the touch of God within them, or of a Somewhat and Some One in, but not of us, we shall slowly bring them to believe that these axioms, these constitutional instincts, these ineradicable moral beliefs, are, and were meant to be, a clew to the path that leads into the King's Highway, and brings men into the land on which the sun never sets. Whoever will read with reverence, clearness, and fulness the Oldest Testament, or the Nature of Things, will have such convictions as he reads the Old Testament, and the New and the Newest, that he will find his cheeks growing pale if he is disloyal to the truth he meets; or, if he is loyal, his forehead becoming white, and his eyes like stars.

4. A perfect religion will secure for all who accept it blessedness.

5. But there can be no blessedness without holiness.

6. For a free moral agent who has sinned, there can be no blessedness without holiness *and pardon.*

7. A perfect religion, therefore, will secure for all who accept it holiness *and pardon.*

8. A perfect religion will harmonize us with our environment.

9. But our environment here and hereafter convicts unalterably of God, conscience, and our record of sin.

10. *A perfect God who wills man's perfection will teach man the methods of harmonizing himself with his environment.*

11. *In the nature of things we cannot be harmonized with that environment unless religion provides for us both holiness and pardon.*

Why, if we are loyal to the scientific method, we ought to sleep on propositions like these; for they will not fall into tremor until the pillars of the universe fall. It is affirmed, I am told, that I never have had any conflict with doctrinal unrest; but it was my fortune to quit for three years a college-course at its central part, that I might find time to give myself information on certain majestic topics, the investigation of which I longed for more than vexed Sahara, with its deadly thunderous simooms and dervish dance of sand-pillars, ever longed for the dew or rain. It is of little consequence to you, but it is of consequence to me, that a certain desert Carlyle speaks of has been under my feet. You know he says we must not sit down in that howling waste, but keep on; and that beyond it we shall find the green fields, and the waters that quench all thirst. All those springs burst out of axioms; that is, out of ranges of living rock, whose roots take hold of the core of the world.

12. After six thousand years of experience, man's philosophical and moral restlessness proves, that, without violence to self-evident truth, he has found no way of harmonizing himself by his own excellence, or solely by his own good works, with his entire environment, including conscience, God, and a record of deliberate sin in an irreversible past.

Some men ask how, if the past is irreversible, we can be happy, even in heaven? Was the past of the prodigal who returned to his father's house not irreversible? Forever and forever it could not be changed. But was he happy after his return? Assuredly. *Is the house not made with hands so very different from the present dwelling-place of men, that we cannot reason from the experience of a prodigal here to experience there? Moral as well as physical law has unity and universality.* In some respects a prodigal's record enhances his bliss on his return: in other respects it diminishes bliss, as it must always be remembered with regret. Is the balance so much in favor of bliss, that we may conclude, in the name of science, that we shall add to our happiness by living a while in the strange country, under famine and with the swine? No serious man asks this question; but, to my amazement, I have been seriously asked by an unscientific liberalism to deny that the past is irreversible. Alas that the soft whims of luxury and superficiality are in conflict with Eternal Enactments! Is all science asleep, that we do not see that the nature of things is — He whom we dare not name! If I deny that the past is irreversible, I

must deny a very large number of truths guaranteed to us by the same evidence; that is, by self-evident truth. I must deny that the whole is greater than a part, or that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, or that every change must have a cause. It is just as evident that what has once been cannot be made not to have been, as that every change must have a cause. If you play fast and loose with axioms, you have a task larger than that of Sisyphus on your hands to prove that you know any thing. You know that you know that nothing can be known. How do you know that you know? The time has come when we must teach the outlines of the philosophy of axioms, or self-evident truths, to John and James, and Patrick and Michael, and the Monthly Rocket and the Daily Blunderbuss. A little philosophy is in all men's minds, and it is a dangerous thing. The Castilian spring must be made to run through democratic ages in streams large enough to quench the thirst of multitudes, otherwise there will be trouble. [Applause.]

I affirm, that, by experience, the proposition is guaranteed to us as fully as any other inference from history, that man has not invented a religion wholly out of reason, that would harmonize his nature with his whole environment. Where is that invented scheme of thought? How many attempts have been made to harmonize man with his entire environment, and to use in the attempt only reason! and how, age after age, the law of the survival of the fittest has forced to the wall human inventions on that theme!

If there were a great philosophy that could provide for man's harmonization with his entire environment, we should know its name; we should be following it. Plato's philosophy! — well, it is twenty-two hundred years old; but, if some of its fundamental propositions were carried out, you and I to-day would be living in barracks, and could not tell who our brothers are, or our sisters, or who our parents were. I know how glorious portions of Plato's teaching are; but the truth is that the central ideas in his system are not able to satisfy man. They have not been adopted as the rule of life: they have had fair hearing. You know what is governing the world to-day. After twenty-two hundred years of conflict, it is not philosophy that governs social life. Some reverence is to be had for a cause that has seen battle, age after age, but never yet defeat. "God is on the side of the heaviest battalions," Napoleon used to say; and it looks as if Christianity were not a very weak battalion. The test of scholarship is that it should contend with scholarship, not once or twice, but century after century, and come out crowned.

13. Man's need of an Atonement not made by himself, and assuring him of pardon has, therefore, been proved by human experience.

14. *This need is also an incontrovertible inference from the natural operations of conscience and the unchangeableness of the past.*

Of that central proposition I have offered here detailed proof; and so, without expanding this dis-

cussion, I put now our previous conclusion into its natural connections of thought. It is held here that whoever will be loyal to the scientific method, or to axiomatic truth in its relation to the conscience and an irreversible past, will come out with the scientific certainty that such arrangements as may harmonize us with our entire environment, man's own excellence of character cannot make. *We have concluded once for all here, in the name of self-evident truth, that Lady Macbeth's use of water will be fruitless forever.* But she must have her hand made white, or the record in her past covered; for, in the nature of things, she cannot be at peace with her entire environment until her foreboding is taken away.

15. So far forth as any religion provides for man's holiness and pardon, it has the marks of being a perfect religion.

16. *Alone among all religions yet known to men, Christianity, without coming into conflict with self-evident truth, provides both for man's holiness and his pardon.*

17. Alone among all religions known to men, Christianity, therefore, has the marks of being a perfect religion; for it, and it only, provides for both man's holiness and his pardon.

18. It does the latter by the revealed truths of the Incarnation and the Atonement.

19. *So far forth as Christianity could not, in the nature of things, provide for man's blessedness and perfection, or his holiness and pardon, without the Incarnation and the Atonement, so far forth the Incarnation*

and Atonement had an eternal and abiding necessity in the wise and free love of God, since this love wills the perfection of man who cannot be perfect without a perfect religion, and cannot attain blessedness without both holiness and pardon. [Applause.]

20. *So far forth as this necessity inheres in the nature of things, the Divine idea relative to the completion of the world first arrives at perfection, or at realization, through the Incarnation and the Atonement.*

21. *The religion of Christ, including the truths of the Incarnation and the Atonement, is the only religion, that, without violence to self-evident truth, brings man to peace with his entire environment.*

22. It is, therefore, scientifically known to be a perfect or absolute religion.

Gentlemen, we are drawing nigh one of the highest summits of the loftiest range of ethical thought. I open the best book on the Deity of our Lord which has been produced in the last century, Dorner's "History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ;" and, although you cannot find these propositions analytically stated anywhere in the volume, you may find them everywhere implied in it, and scattered through the freshest portions of the world's best ethical and theological scientific research on this theme. You want a twig off the German tree, and I give you one in order that you may judge whether the sap in it is not of precisely the same quality with that of the circulating fluid of thought in these analytical propositions. Off this stalwart tree, which I chose as a confessedly crowned specimen of the

growths of modern thought on this theme, I will pluck this spray of foliage, assured, that, if you hold it up in the wind of self-evident truth, it will have a harp-like tone. What anthem, then, might you not hear, if you were to walk into a whole forest of such growths?

"The world of humanity and spirits constitutes a real unity solely in virtue of the circumstance that over its essence, which consists in free susceptibility to God, there stands the personal and universal Divine principle; and that this principle, whilst standing over, is also turned towards, nay more, belongs to it, so far as it is the true *kosmos;* so that without it, the world cannot at all be conceived as a completed and filled unity.

"The idea of the world as it stands eternally before God is not terminated and completed with susceptibility to God, but, according to his unfathomable gracious will, includes also that this susceptibility be absolutely filled in itself; and at the point where the central fulfilment corresponding to this central susceptibility takes place, the world, too, — which, as merely susceptible to God, or even sinful, was outside of God, — entered into the circle of the Divine Life, into the life of the triune God himself, even as the immanent Divine Life explicated itself here.

"The Son is not the world, but its Divine principle, which brought a world to pass, not by a necessity of nature, but according to the inner law of love, which is at the same time the law of freedom. He is also not the ideal world, nor the image of the world in God, but primarily its principle. Still we are compelled to say that the world — both according to its idea, and according to the idea of the will of the Logos, in other words, the Divine idea relative to the completion of the world — first arrives at perfection, at realization, through the incarnation.

"This leads to a further point, which is of decisive importance both in itself and in a systematical respect, — a point by

which the *historical* in Christ is raised to absolute significance, and is removed from the sphere of contingency. This is the truth, that the incarnation of God in Christ had not its sole ground in sin, but, besides sin, had a deeper, to wit, an eternal and abiding necessity in the wise and free love of God, so far as this love willed, in general, the existence of a world which should be the scene of its *perfect* revelation, and so far as, consequently, the world is marked by susceptibility to and need of this revelation." (DORNER, PROFESSOR J. A., *on the Person of Christ*, div. ii. vol. iii. pp. 235, 236.)

This is the successor of Schleiermacher in the University at Berlin, speaking in the best university of the world, and at the end of age after age of the acutest scholarly discussion of this theme. I might put before you volumes of such discussion; but they would point only to the sublime creed, that God wills man's perfection; that he cannot be perfect without a perfect religion; that he will give man, therefore, a perfect religion; and that Christianity is the only religion that has the two marks of perfection, — ability to harmonize man with his entire environment by providing for both his holiness and his pardon.

23. But there cannot be two perfect or absolute religions, or one with Christ, and one without Christ.

24. The religion of Christ, including the truths of the Incarnation and the Atonement, is, therefore, the only absolute religion.

25. A body of thought, of which an outline has now been given, is taught implicitly in New England, England, and Scotland to-day, and in Germany is explicitly adopted by theologians such as Dorner,

Niztsch, Martensen, Ebrard, Schmid, Petersen, Kling, Nagelsbach, Schöberlein, Ehrenfeuchter, Chalybæus, Fischer, Liebner, Lange, and Rothe. (See DORNER, *Person of Christ*, div. ii. vol. iii. p. 237.)

Theodore Parker's Absolute Religion was a religion without the Incarnation, a religion without the Atonement, a religion, therefore, adequately discredited by scientific thought and human experience, as unable on the one hand to provide for man's pardon without violating self-evident truth, and therefore unable on the other to give him that transfiguration of his entire nature, that deliverance from the last ache of Pharisaic pride, that eternal cessation of the unrest of forced deistic repose, that similarity of feeling with a Saviour who is gladly taken as Lord, that peace unsearchable and eternal, which springs up only in the light of the Cross. [Applause.]

Revelation is a king unmarried; science is a queen unmarried; but from eternity and for eternity these two have changed eyes.

> "He is the half part of a blessed man,
> Left to be finished by such as she;
> And she a fair divided excellence
> Whose fulness of perfection lies in him."
>
> *King John*, act ii.

[Applause.]

VII.

TRUE AND FALSE OPTIMISM.

THE SEVENTY-SIXTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE APRIL 30.

"Dic, Epicure, Quæ res faciat beatum? Responde, Voluptas corporis. Dic, Stoice: Virtus animi. Dic, Christiane: Donum Dei."

St. Augustine.

"Arrisit infans, nec moratus retulit:
Est quidquid illud, quod ferunt homines Deum,
Unum esse opportet, et quod uni est unicum.
Cum Christus hoc sit, Christus est verus Deus.
Genera deorum multa nec pueri putant."

Peristeph: *Hymn.*

VII.

TRUE AND FALSE OPTIMISM.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

WASHINGTON IRVING was once invited to Boston by the historian Prescott to spend a week of leisure, but refused to do so on the ground that hard work was a greater delight than rest. Only those who have had experience in the deepest secrets of life understand that our best blisses come from the performance of our most odious duties. "It would give me the greatest pleasure to enjoy companionship with a few choice spirits like yourself," Irving wrote to Prescott; "but I dread the vortex of gay society. Habits of literary occupation have almost unfitted me for idle, gentlemanly life. Relaxation and repose begin to be insupportable to me. I feel a disposition to relapse into hard writing" (TICKNOR'S *Prescott*, illus. ed., pp. 422, 423). We think that conversation with the religiously irresolute is a very difficult duty; and yet those who perform it know that it is the source of one of the highest blisses of this life, and find such reward, that their hallowed endeavor will be prolonged from the love of it. They will re-

lapse, as Washington Irving did, into hard work at what may have been, in its earlier stages, not a little distasteful. Those are the happiest persons in Boston to-day, who have done most face to face with the religiously irresolute during the past three months. Those will remember the winter with the greatest delight who have plunged themselves into this cold sea of personal conversation with the religiously indifferent, and have beaten back all its surges, instead of sinking; and, when they have beaten them, have found the waters buoying them up, until now stalwart swimming is a bliss. Christians do not know their privileges until they learn to like these most difficult parts of a Christian's duty.

Not far from fifty years ago in this city, Lyman Beecher called one morning on a respectable family, and asked if the children of the household could not be sent to a Bible school. Dr. Chalmers had done something in such schools in Scotland; and it was the purpose of Lyman Beecher to introduce Chalmers' scheme of effort here. "My own children are going," said he to the head of the household, "can you not send yours? Let us have that nucleus to begin with." In Boston, the Sabbath school as an instrumentality for the education of society was hardly more than a germ fifty years ago. It was a hope; it was an impulse; it had no assured position. To-day, in the International Sabbath-school Lessons, that style of instruction encircles the globe. In this last yet unrolling chapter of the Acts of the Apostles there is, I believe, not a Divine inspiration, such as fills our

Scriptures, but a Divine illumination from the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

Now, there is one other religious instrumentality, almost in the germ yet, but which might have a field as wide as that which the Sabbath school has entered, and become even more fruitful, would Christians but learn Washington Irving's secret, that hard work at an odious duty transmutes into bliss. This is a large hope, I know; but I refer to the conversation-meeting, which has had such power in this city in the last three months, and ought to continue to have the same power in the four hundred churches which are now uniting their services with those of Boston. If there could be in these four hundred churches the right use of what is called in England an "after-meeting," or what we call a "conversation-meeting," or what is called in older phraseology an "inquiry-meeting," and if there could be a full and prolonged development of that religious instrumentality, how soon might we not find the church gladly doing all the while what it now does in its lucid intervals only! The Church now is sometimes zealous, and sometimes cold. It is amphibious in the sense in which those timbers on the mud-flat in the harbor yonder are: when the tide is in, they are up and floating; when the tide is out, they are on the earth. Amphibious in the style of drift-wood! What if we were trained to be amphibious in the style of those to whom God has given power to meet difficulty? In the seasons when no great effort is required face to face with the religiously irresolute,

the Christian has the right to cultivate his own inner life, to solace himself with the St. Augustines, and the Fénelons, and the Jeremy Taylors, and the Pascals. But when the trumpet calls, when the fallen and perishing and degraded are to be met face to face; when there is effort going on by which the courses of hundreds of lives may be determined; and when, if every one will mend one, all will be amended, then your Christian is to be amphibious in the better sense; he should be ready for the sternest duty, and love it even better than the soft swathing of himself in the luxuries of spiritual repose. He knows that stalwart action on the field of battle is rather braver than any military movement practised on the drill-field. Let him stand face to face with the enemy, if he would become a soldier, and not merely face to face with painted or printed enemies.

How shall a meeting be managed so as to make the rule of courtesy that of Christian endeavor in conversation between the religiously resolute and the religiously irresolute? Go to these four hundred churches, — it is my fortune to pass up and down New England, — and you will find them disagreed sometimes as to just what to do. But there is coming to be a very well-established custom as to conversation-meetings. Not long ago we had a hundred and fifty meetings in the Established Church inside the city of London, all of them closed on each night with a conversation-meeting. In that effort, archbishops and bishops led; and men from some of the highest ranks in culture made it too late to say that

this conversation is not fashionable. People who will not touch a pearl until somebody has handled it with lavender gloves may know very well, if they will study the history of what the English Church calls "missions," — only another name for "revivals," — that the conversation-meeting has been sprinkled with holy water, and therefore, perhaps, deserves christening here. In London and in many other places the common habit has been to make a request that any who are willing to enter into religious conversation will remain at the close of the meeting. All who do not care to enter into such an exercise go out while a hymn is sung: those who remain, by doing so, say that they are willing to converse on religion; and so there is no discourtesy in your speaking to them under such circumstances. Now, let it be the rule among the churches of New England in the winter season, when large gatherings can be held in the evenings, for every devotional meeting to be closed by a request that any religiously irresolute person who is present, and who wishes to remain for a quarter or half an hour for religious conversation, should do so. *Let that be the custom, as much observed as holding devotional meetings, or as the gathering of sabbath schools;* and very soon, instead of a church that is a mere hook in place of an amputated hand, I will show you a church that has fingers, that can reach into the wants of society, and can make supply match demand. [Applause.]

In no other way, so well as by bringing the unconverted face to face with the converted, can you nur-

ture an inefficient church-member into a Christian of the stalwart type. For lack of this work, we are feeble; for lack of this work, some of us are asleep; for lack of just this style of effort, or its equivalent, some of us are portly, indeed, but placid and flaccid.

Let us begin, during the illumined time which is now passing over our heads, a large reform on this theme. Let us make it a rule, under the voluntary system in the free churches of America, which state churches of Europe watch closely, that a conversation-meeting shall follow every large devotional gathering in the central seasons of the year. We need many styles of meetings: the reform gathering once a month, at least, to attend to temperance, and perhaps oftener in many places. To-day I wish to emphasize one point only; and that is, that if, in the next fifty years, you will develop the conversation-meeting as you have developed the Sabbath school in the last fifty, you will find more blessed results from the conversation-meeting than you have from the Sabbath school. This I believe solemnly, in the name of the influence of such conversations not only upon the unconverted, but upon the converted. I know personally one church to which it was my fortune to minister, in days which, like those I am now passing through, were unfit to be used to teach anybody; but that church was led into conversation with the religiously irresolute as a standard measure. It was a church where those invited to do this work could be trusted to do right in such conversations. General public instruction for such

labor had been given. A pastor may feel that he cannot trust everybody in his church to converse with everybody; but he can give such public instruction, that the influence of injudicious advice given in conversation will soon be counteracted. Let there be right instruction from the pulpit, and you can trust church-members, with proper oversight, to converse with those who remain. This church, of which I have positive knowledge, employed that measure of conversation for three months, and then was without a pastor for many months; but the conversations and conversions went on. Men learned to love that style of effort. Instead of Sabbath clubs listening to sermons and music, and going away talking about the oratory and the fashions, the scent of the minister's handkerchief, and the divine aroma of wardrobes, white or black, let us have churches such as those which conquered the Cæsars. Let us be sure that the most difficult duties are the most blissful; let all the churches be filled with this certainty, and the hard work will soon be so done as to be deadly. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

One of the kings who were prominent in the crusades was taken prisoner, and confined for many months in a castle standing in that territory which Turkey and Russia may soon deluge in blood. A musician, who had been a member of the household of this prince, sought long to find the spot in which his lord was immured, but could obtain no entrance

behind any castle's bars. In place after place he wearily gave up the search, because he could procure no sight of his lord. At last it occurred to him, that in his childhood, and when the king was young, a delicious strain of music had been greatly admired by them both; and therefore this wanderer, whenever he appeared before a prison, would produce on his flute that strain of music, in the hope that possibly his lord might hear it, and know that the musician with whom he had been acquainted was beneath his window. One day this searching singer, having been refused entrance to the wards of a castle, sat down under its windows, and hour by hour lifted up that entrancing melody which the king he sought had known in his youth; and at last a token was thrown to him out of a tower, indicating that his lord was there. I go up and down in search of scientific theology. I am a poor musician, looking for my Lord. I am not admitted to the inner vaults of all castles. I know not where he may be confined among the mysteries of the universe. Science knows, however, that somewhere he remembers a delicious strain of music, which both Revelation and Science heard in their youth. Religion and Science both have the nature of things as their earliest memory. Self-evident truth is the delicious strain of music which I will lift up under the barred windows of castle after castle, until from some tower I have a token indicating to me that my Lord is there. I know he heard that melody of self-evident truth when he was young; for the Old Testament was preceded by the Oldest, and

it is only self-evident truth. Among the perplexities of the universe I will lift up the melody of axioms, self-evident propositions, intuitive truths, until out of the bars of mystery shall be thrown down a token of my Lord, and he and I are together once more. [Applause.]

Theodore Parker held that the Divine Perfection is the first of all theological truths; and so did David when he struck his harp at the edge of Siloa's Brook; so did Æschylus when he smote his under the shadow of the Acropolis; so have all lofty and clear souls taught that God is the fulness of all excellence; and every just inference we can draw from that fact is scientific. Contrast, however, a false with a true optimism, or Parker's inferences from the fact of God's perfection with Christian inferences from the same fact.

The perfection of the moral law, inhering in the nature of things, proves the perfection of the Divine Nature.

The perfection of the moral law is a self-evident, axiomatic, intuitive truth. It is an axiom of conscience that the voice which says "I ought" utters a mandate absolutely perfect: therefore the law revealed by that mandate is perfect. There cannot be a here without a there, or a before without an after, or a thought without a thinker, or a law without a lawgiver, or a perfect law without a perfect lawgiver. (See, for detailed discussion of these propositions, Lecture of Feb 12.)

Say what you will about the origin of evil, talk

as blandly or as complainingly, as blindly or as searchingly, as you please concerning the problem, not of error merely and of infirmity, but of deliberate sin and of absolute iniquity in the world, it yet remains true scientifically, that all objection to the belief that God is perfect is shattered on the axiomatic certainty of the perfection of the moral law. *Who will dare to say that the nature of things is not perfect? But it is He!*

If, now, I am to recite my own personal creed, so far as I can gain one from a philosophical point of view, it consists of these two propositions:—

1. God will do what he can for us.

2. What God cannot do for us, he has given us power to do for ourselves.

That is my optimism; but it is optimism with an if.

1. God will do what he can for us.

2. What he can do for us is measured in part by our susceptibility.

You admit, do you, that God will do what he can for us? You think God is perfect? You are all agreed on that, are you? Very well. Do not be frightened if I ask you to be consistent with yourselves. He will do what he can for us? Yes.

3. God's creation of our free susceptibility is a promise from him that he will fill it, if he can do so without destroying our freedom.

4. Man has a susceptibility of oneness with God in conscience.

5. He is, therefore, susceptible of sinlessness.

6. Unless man's free susceptibility of sinlessness is somewhere filled in the history of the race, God's ideal as to man as a type fails of realization.

7. But God's ideal and promise never fail.

8. Therefore the most perfect possible type of man will be brought into existence; that is, somewhere in history a sinless character will appear.

9. Christ, a sinless character, has appeared in history.

If we are to take as a test Christian conviction, victorious through ages, this last proposition will stand, and I had almost said, if we are to take infidel criticism as a test; for it is not the tendency of any form of modern research to cast supreme doubt on the sinlessness of Christ. Scepticism finds itself more and more exclaiming with Rousseau: "Socrates died like a man; the founder of Christianity, like a God." Carlyle says of Voltaire, that his central fault is, that "he meddles with religion, without being in any profound sense religious." But modern scepticism is far more reverent than Voltaire was, and often has insight enough not to deny the sinlessness of the Author of Christianity. It denies the soundness of his judgment in many particulars, talks in a light way about mistakes greater or less; but, when it comes to character, it is very nearly dumb before the challenge of Christianity to show any evil there. It is not necessary for my present purpose, however, speaking of scientific optimism, to show that this point is conceded by infidelity. It has been a general consent of many ages, that a Being who had oneness

with conscience, and with God in conscience, has appeared in the world. All I need to emphasize is the certainty, that, unless the sinless character appears in history, man's susceptibility is not filled; the divine ideal for the species has not been realized, and God has not done what he can for us. How much can God do for us? As much as we are susceptible of. How much are we susceptible of? Obedience to conscience, uninterrupted oneness with the moral law. If our Lord was a sinless character, he was the first perfect man. He was what every man should have been from the beginning. He was the first creature exhibiting the full susceptibility of the human kind. God will do what he can for us? Yes; but, if he does that, he will bring into existence somewhere a sinless character. That is to be expected. Such is in the susceptibility of man as a race; and such, therefore, is within the power of God without destroying our free will.

"*It is not an arbitrary procedure*," writes Dorner ("Person of Christ," div. 11, vol. iii. p. 224), "*but simply the necessity of the case, to see in Christ, so far as sinlessness is attributed to him, a divine revelation of God, which, by realizing, discloses the archetype of holiness; which revelation could only be brought to pass through the medium of an unique distinctive being of God in him, by which the image of God attained to actual representation in the world.*"

10. The possibilities of human nature are exhibited in the human nature of our Lord.

11. Any religion that is without such a sinless

character is defective in its exhibition of the capabilities of man, and cannot, therefore, be a perfect religion.

12. Every religion, except Christianity, is defective in this supreme part.

Plainly we reach high issues here. But assuredly all this is in your belief that God will do what he can for us. Propositions like these underlie the very latest schools in German thought. We have book after book on the sinlessness of our Lord. The philosophical significance of the numerous attempts to write the life of the Christ lies in the fact of his sinlessness. It is often said among German cultivators of religious science, that the character of God is the Alpha and Omega; but that the imperfection of human nature, or the effect of sin, is the Beta and Upsilon of philosophy. One is the A and the Z, and the other is the B and the Y. When we listen to only these four letters of the alphabet, we are convinced that God will do what he can for us; that what he can do is measured in part by our own free susceptibility; that we have a free susceptibility of oneness with conscience; and that somewhere in the history of the race a sinless character is to be expected. We cannot fix dates for God's work. We do not know when he will do this; but a perfect religion will look forward to such a character, or backward to such a character: otherwise it does not believe in God's optimism; it does not believe that he will fill the susceptibilities he has created. Science must hold that the creation of a free susceptibility in man is

the promise of God to fill it, if he can do so without our loss of freedom. There cannot be a great instinct without its correlate; and every great susceptibility of man is a divine promise that it will be filled, if we yield to him. One test of perfection in a religion, therefore, is its power to bring out man into sinlessness; and its power to do that must be tested by what it has done. We must look on every scheme of religious thought from the point of view of man's susceptibility; and if any system of ideas limits God's activities, will not allow that he in six thousand years has ever produced a sinless character, denies that he has filled the susceptibility he created, and which was his promise, — in that narrowness of its horizon we find something very repulsive to the breadth of view which Christ and Christian philosophy cultivate. [Applause.]

1. God will do what he can for us.

2. What he can do for us is measured in part by our need.

3. We need holiness and pardon.

4. It has been shown that we can obtain holiness best, and pardon only, through an Atonement not our own. (See Lecture of April 16.)

There is always in modern communities a great difficulty laid upon public discussion, when the attempt is made to prove that we really need some other assurance than that derived from general views of God's goodness, if we are to know that we have had pardon. New England is filled with Christianity. We have all heard unspeakable revealed truths, until

our philosophical thought is saturated with Christian ideas of God's goodness and condescension, more perfectly than morning twilight ever was by the coming sun. If a man stands up here to say that he needs some other assurance than a general view of God's goodness, in order to know he is pardoned, the reply sometimes is, that God's goodness is enough. The Prodigal Son came back; and in his case there was no Atonement. Yes; but he who taught the parable of the Prodigal Son taught also that "he came to give his life a ransom for many." [Applause.] "This is my blood shed for many for the remission of sins," was the teaching of the same lips which taught that parable of the Prodigal Son, in which, of course, all the other teaching of the same author is presupposed. We are not to shut up the Bible except at one opening, or sew a portion of its leaves together, and take an isolated page of it, and read the fragment as if it were the whole. The parable of the Prodigal Son a complete statement? Why, the Sermon on the Mount is not! We are to study the view north, south, east, and west, in the scriptural landscape, if we are to be liberal at all. But, even in the parable of the Prodigal Son, it is God's mercy, it is God's condescension, it is his merit, and not ours, that takes us back in peace. Everywhere it is presupposed in the New Testament that the Atonement is a fact. To leave that out is to take the sun from the noon, and then to judge the sky by a patch of the twilight. We must be fair with the record, and interpret it at least as honestly as we would

a friend's written will or a legal document, by looking at all there is in it. Coleridge was accustomed to say — I beg pardon for quoting the remark in Boston — that if men were to interpret wills and legal documents, as some who deny the fact of the vicarious atonement and the Deity of our Lord are forced to interpret the New Testament, lawyers would stand aghast. "I have not fallen into these ways of interpretation," said Coleridge (*Table Talk*, p. 327), "for I went much beyond those who hold them: I went so far west, that I came into the east." [Applause.] You doubt whether the New Testament teaches the Deity of our Lord? What do these words mean? "Ye shall see the Son of man ascend up to where he was before." "In the beginning the Word was with God and was God." "Before Abraham was, I am." Is man's pre-existence taught in the New Testament? The pre-existence of our Lord is taught there.

The truth is, that if you will take up the best discussions from either side of the Atlantic, and look at the present condition of exegetical contests, you will find, that, more and more, objection to the Deity of our Lord is put upon philosophical grounds, and not on exegetical. Some of the old pieces of unfairness are being given up on both sides; for no doubt Orthodoxy has strained many a text: but the general trend of scholarship both sides of the North Sea, as you may learn well enough by reading either side in the discussion, is to carry the debate over to the philosophical field, because it is tacitly understood that the Bible does teach the fact of the

vicariousness of the Atonement and the Deity of our Lord. To-day, when the field is widened to philosophical considerations, these thoughts that I am now presenting are among the most blazing of philosophical themes. I open here Dorner, and I find him willing, face to face with Germany, to stand on propositions like these: "We cannot conceive that God, in willing a world, should not also have willed it for perfection; nor will it be necessary to consult a necessity for the Incarnation on the side of man, in the fact of sin, because we find its necessity also in the need of perfection; or because *we affirm it to have been a necessity for God, in so far as, if he willed a perfect world, he could not omit to will the God-man, who is its honor and crown.*" (*Person of Christ*, div. 11, vol. iii. pp. 238, 239.) [Applause.]

America has not fought enough on this philosophical ground to know its importance; but Germany has. You have been accustomed to use proof-texts to establish all this; and you have been logically victorious, as Germany has been, in that contest. For one student, I think that you have driven into chaos, horse, foot, and dragoons, all exegetical opponents, and that Moses Stuart, Dorner, and Liddon have done this. I asserted on this platform weeks ago, that Moses Stuart's proof-texts never have been answered; and the curious and the only reply that has been offered is, that I make no reference to proof-texts. But this philosophical outline of scientific optimism is in place in Boston, if it is in place in Berlin and in Edinburgh, and assuredly it has had a place in the best discussions of Germany for fifty years.

Any religion that comes to me with a demand that I surrender to it my life, and does not give me assurance as to my pardon before God, or exhibit to me the way of peace with my whole environment, is marked by a lack of intellectual seriousness. The central thought with me is, that no scheme of religious science can give a man peace before his demand for pardon, unless it have in it the idea of an Atonement not our own, and revealing God's mercy, condescension, and justice in the biblical way. I wish peace for myself as well as for others, and, in the search for it, must demand that self-evident truth be not ignored. When I, in company with my conscience, go hence, or when I with untutored but fully awakened moral instincts stand now face to face with the insufferably resplendent moral law, I desire harmonization with my environment. This I do not, this my conviction is I cannot, obtain from any scheme of thought not Christian. Christianity itself has difficulty enough in washing Lady Macbeth's red right hand; but it is scientifically known that diluted Christianity never can do that business. [Applause.] Gentlemen, that business must be done. Philosophy every day is growing more serious. The literature of the world is deepening in its earnestness. Woman is coming into modern literature; and it is therefore being purified, and with its purification we have a great increase of literary sensitiveness concerning moral ideas. Philosophy partakes in this increase of keenness of moral insight; and the time is coming when it will be asked in the name of exact research, how Lady Macbeth's hand

can be washed, and when it will be ascertained in the name of self-evident truth that a diluted form of Christianity cannot wash Lady Macbeth's hand! A lack of intellectual — yes, a lack of moral — seriousness belongs to every philosophy, and even more to every religion, that plays fast and loose with self-evident truth, when the problem is to give peace to man face to face with his entire environment.

Show me a philosophy that can wash Lady Mac beth's red right hand, and I will show you undiluted Christianity in other terms. [Applause.]

So far as what God will do for us is measured by our need, we are not true to Christian optimism if we do not believe that God will provide for our peace, if our wills permit. But is it not known that he can, by a great arrangement, which we call the Atonement, make possible our harmony with our environment, even after we have sinned? Germany says that incontrovertibly the Incarnation and Atonement are so far necessary as they are indispensable to man's pardon and holiness. Not only can we not reach perfection without them, but, after having once fallen into disloyalty to the moral law, we cannot have pardon without them. If God will do what he can for us, he will secure for us blessedness by securing both holiness and pardon, if we will accept them.

5. If the Incarnation and Atonement are facts, they satisfy man's highest needs.

This has been proved philosophically in the last fifty years, with a fulness of detail beyond a reply.

6. If we admit, therefore, that God will do what

he can for us, we must say that it is antecedently probable that a great arrangement will be made by which pardon will be possible, without violation of self-evident truth.

This is only Michael Angelo again, old man in the Vatican, and blind, feeling along that Torso in many places fragmentary, and estimating what the plan of the whole must be. This is only the French astronomer, Leverrier, asking where the unknown planet is that produced the perturbations of an orb that has been observed for years. This is only science, in the name of the unity of the moral as well as the physical law, walking out into the infinities and the eternities with as much courage as to the moral side of God's nature as concerning that side of his will which produces physical arrangements. As we know there is a unity in the physical law of the universe, we know there is in the moral; and, therefore, as we go out from here to Orion, knowing that gravitation is one thing here, and one thing there, we go out on the moral law from here to the Great White Throne itself, and bend a curve around the infinities till we feel sure that God's heart beats in response to man's wants of holiness and pardon, and beats in such a way that because he is God, he will do what he can for us, from an eternal necessity of love.

1. God will do what he can for us.

2. What he can do for us is measured in part by his own perfections.

3. He cannot deny himself.

4. He therefore cannot give pardon previous to repentance.

What! A limit of God's power? He loves us; and he is as a father in this world, who will not pardon a child until the child has repented. A deliberate lie has been told you by a child of yours, and brazen impudence stands upon the boy's face. With entire intelligence as to the character of his act, he denies that he has told a lie, and exhibits no sorrow for it. "Come now," it is said to you, "be liberal; pardon that child before he has repented." — "Of course I cannot," you reply. "I love the child. If I pardon him before he repents, I injure him. He is old enough to know what he is about; he understands the evil of falsehood; he knows perfectly that he has done a thing that should not have been done, and knows that I know this: and now, if I pardon him before he repents at all, I injure him." — "Well, but be advanced in your thought; have enlightened views of the universe; do look a little into the difference between new equipments and the old, blunt weapons of warfare; do not employ bows and arrows any more; use columbiads." — "Why, it is a columbiad in my own soul, that I will not pardon that boy until he repents; for I shall injure him if I do. I love him." The columbiad is directed at your bosom! "Advanced thought! I am advanced enough to take care of my child; and I cannot in love pardon him until I can do so without injuring him." A very fathomless *cannot*, that is! This unwavering curve of the moral law, I believe sweeps around all the constellations of the inner sky; and, although God will do what he can for us, he can-

not, without denying himself, pardon us until we repent. [Applause.]

5. God cannot, without denying himself, give blessedness where there is no holiness.

Self-evident truth does not always sing elysian melodies. It sings very stern battle-anthems; but when you have fought the battle, then it sings trumpet-tones of bliss indeed.

The central lie of an unscientific optimism is the song of the sirens: "Let us do what we will; we shall by and by will to do what we ought."

6. With God is no liberty to do what is not fitting.

7. It is not fitting that sin be forgiven without an Atonement.

This was Anselm's position (*Cur Deus Homo?*) and for eight hundred years that thought has been tossed about in the seas of debate, and swims to-day probably at the very top of all philosophical discussion on this theme. God has no liberty to do what is not fit.

Julius Müller faces this thought, and calls pause to all thinkers of our day before that one idea. God has no liberty to do what is not fitting. It is not fitting that sin be forgiven without an Atonement. Your Dorner bows there; your Nitzch and Rothe bow there; your New England, your Scottish, and your English theologians bow there; and infidelity itself, when asked to face that proposition, evades it, and has done so for eight hundred years. I do not know where there is a fair philosophical discussion

from the point of view of scepticism on self-evident truth as applied to the Atonement. What am I doing here? I am discussing transcendentalism in its relations to religious science. What is it to do that? It is to apply self-evident truth to the innermost holiest of Christianity itself. It is to lift up before the bars of mystery, and under the window of our Lord, the anthem which he heard in his youth, and which he gave us the capacity to sing, and which he will recognize by coming forth as Conqueror. [Applause.]

1. God will do what he can for us.

2. What he can do for us is to be measured by what he has done for us.

3. He has not destroyed the freedom of the will.

4. He has not prevented evil.

5. *What he has not done cannot be done wisely.*

6. The Incarnation and Atonement may be proved by historical evidence to be facts of history.

7. If they are such, they reveal what God has done.

8. What God has done is well done.

9. What he cannot do for us, he will give us power to do for ourselves.

10. The origin of evil in the universe is in the failure of free agents to do the best they can for themselves.

Gentlemen, I am not bound in partisan wraps and withes. If I know myself, I have no desire other than to be clear and straightforward. But I know that a little while ago I was not in the world, and

that a little while hence I shall be here no longer. I know that I cannot escape from myself, God, and my record. I know that I wish to go hence in peace with myself and God, and that irreversible past. I look about in this dim stir of existence for a scheme of thought that will harmonize me with any whole environment. I want it. I am not ashamed of self-love, though I am of selfishness. What is the difference between self-love and selfishness? Selfishness is a disproportionate love of self: self-love is a proportionate love of self. We have a right to self-love, and it is not without a proper place if it urges us to intellectual seriousness. Selfishness is always wrong; for it is the disproportionate love of self. I have a right to love myself as well as anybody else whose being is of the same worth; but I must love God in proportion to his being; that is, infinitely, and my neighbor as myself, because he has as much being as I. Self-love leads me to ask how I can be harmonized with my past, and my conscience, and my God. I assure you solemnly that I cannot place any thing except full Christianity under my head, and be at peace. I have been in the jaws of death. I hope I have seen enough of life to be a little above caring what men say for or against any position I may take up, for I am not to be here long at the longest. You are not to be here long. We are to be gathered home, as our fathers were, and we wish to go hence in peace. In the name of cool precision, in the name of the philosophy that dares not believe a lie, or call any thing that is obscure clear, it must

be declared that Christianity, and it alone, can harmonize us with an irreversible record of deliberate sin, with a God who is a thousand consciences, and with a conscience that is a thousand swords. [Applause.]

VIII.

A CONSIDERATION OF MR. CLARKE'S AND MR. HALE'S CRITICISMS.

THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE MAY 7.

"Qualis gemma micat, fulvum quæ dividit aurum
Aut collo decus, aut capiti; vel quale per artem
Inclusam buxo, aut Oricia terebintho
Lucet ebur."

Virgil: *Æn.* x. 134.

"Es ist Nichts schrecklicher als eine thätige Unwissenheit."

Goethe: *Maxims*, iii. 191.

VIII.

A CONSIDERATION OF MR. CLARKE'S AND MR. HALE'S CRITICISMS.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

THE River Ilissus in Athens is a delicious crystalline stream, full of white and brown pebbles, which no doubt the feet of Phocion, and Socrates and Demosthenes, and Plato and Aristotle, have touched. Its ripples, therefore, are more musical than Apollo's lute; and you will not blame me for stating that I brought home from Athens a broad, fair pebble out of that stream, and from that portion of its bed, which, scholars say, was once crossed by the gardens and walks and marble colonnades of Aristotle's Lyceum. I keep this white stone now as a paper-weight on a heap of excerpts and newspaper cuttings intended to represent current misconceptions of Christian truth. Quite a number of slips have been accumulating in that heap of late, some of them from Music Hall; and, since I am as proud of the specimens I gather into my cabinet as ever a collector of crystals was of his captured gems, I wish

to make you sharers of my bliss, according to Shakspeare's maxim: —

> "When thou haply seest
> Some rare noteworthy object in thy travel,
> Make me partaker of thy happiness."
> *Two Gentlemen of Verona.*

1. From this cabinet of misconception — notice, I do not say of misrepresentation — I must choose at least one specimen concerning the measureless theme of free final permanence of character, or the natural wages of habitual evil choice. I hold in my hand a book written by a man whom we all honor for his candor and learning, and whose vigorous honesty in the political affairs of this Commonwealth has more than once been a pillar of fire in a dark place. I mean Mr. Clarke, who lately has presented to the public an almost semi-official answer to the question "What is a Christian?" I read in this volume, which is also almost semi-official, and, in my opinion, the best book ever published in Boston by unevangelical Christianity, the following very amazing words: "The Orthodox doctrine of future punishment is exceedingly simple. . . . The purest and best of men, who does not believe the precise Orthodox theory concerning the Trinity, sits in hell side by side with Zingis Khan, who murdered in cold blood hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children, marking his bloody route by pyramids of skulls" (CLARKE, *Orthodoxy*, p. 357).

Gentlemen, that is a very interesting specimen in this cabinet. It is almost flawless. I hardly know

how it could be better. That misconception is fundamental, colossal, ghastly, inexcusable. [Applause.]

2. But take another flaming, favorite gem of mine from the same cabinet, and broken off the same ledge of crystalline Boston rock: —

"The unbaptized child, who goes to hell because of the original sin derived from Adam, is exposed to God's wrath no less than Pope Alexander VI., who outraged every law of God and man, and who, says Machiavelli, 'was followed to the tomb by the heavy feet of his three dear companions, — Luxury, Simony, and Cruelty.' This is the doctrine which every denomination and sect in Christendom, except the Unitarians and Universalists, maintain as essential to Orthodoxy" (pp. 357, 358).

Gentlemen, is that a correct statement? This serious assertion is just about as correct as it would be to say that Charles River flows into the Mississippi. It is quite as correct as to affirm that Massachusetts is a province of China.

3. You will allow me, therefore, to say that I was not greatly surprised, when, a few weeks ago, I obtained a third specimen off this same fruitful ledge of crystals; or, the assertion that my view of the Trinity, or the view of the New-England theology as understood by this Lectureship, is "one which any Unitarian can accept" (Mr. CLARKE, *Daily Advertiser*, March 26). That statement was made, however, before a full discussion had been presented here, although warning had been given not to judge the house while the scaffolding was up; and I believe the statement is not reiterated at present.

4. In an account of semi-official discussions at Music Hall, I read that Mr. Cook has given up the doctrine of substitution. The language of the report is, that Mr. Cook comes forward, belonging to the same school of thought with a certain evangelist, and tells us "that we must accept the Orthodox doctrine on this subject; and he says that no Orthodox man of any sense or any knowledge believes to-day in substitution" (Report of Mr. CLARKE'S *Sermon*, "Daily Advertiser," April 30). Another authority says that Mr. Cook "defends the doctrine of substitution by giving it up" (*Unitarian Tract*, by Mr. KIMBALL).

Now, what are the facts? New-England theology makes a distinction between chastisement and punishment. Even the Universalist theology insists that there is a difference between suffering and punishment. I know careless phrases have been used by Orthodox scholars; but when I open a series of articles published in "The Bibliotheca Sacra," by writers of all denominations, within the last fifteen years, and constituting the best statement of the new Orthodoxy that New England has yet made, — fifteen or eighteen elaborate communications prepared by Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists of the first rank in scholarship, — I find such a representative writer, for instance, as the revered Dr. Whedon, editor of "The Methodist Quarterly Review," a man probably not given to Calvinism, saying this, —

"The imputation of the sin of man, or his punishment, to

Christ, is but a popular conception, justifiable if understood as only conceptual; just as we might say that the crime of Pythias was imputed to Damon in order that we also might be able to say that Damon was *punished* instead of Pythias. In strictness of language and thought, neither crime, guilt, nor punishment is personally transferable" (WHEDON, Rev. D.D., *Bib. Sac.*, April, 1862, pp. 260, 261).

Why, it is amazing to me that gentlemen will quote phrases from Mr. Spurgeon, saying that our Lord was punished, and then come forward in Boston, and affirm that Orthodoxy holds that our Lord was not innocent, and meet us with the charge of self-contradiction when we exhibit the truths of the Atonement in detail. Ask Mr. Spurgeon, or any other man who uses that word "punished," whether our Lord was a murderer, a perjurer, a leper, or a thief. Ask whether he does not believe, as the Church has always believed, whatever its language may have been, that our Lord was innocent. We are now more careful in our phraseology than we once were; but the Church has always had the idea of Christ's innocence, and never has asserted that he was punished, in the sense of suffering pain for personal blameworthiness; for he never had any personal blameworthiness. Let us distinguish ideas from vocabularies. I admit that the latter have been careless; and it is one part of the joy of my life to contribute a little toward more caution in the expression of truths which we cannot touch properly, unless in that spirit which Uzzah did *not* have when he touched the ark, and for lack of reverence was struck dead!

Andrew Fuller the Baptist scholar, who has been called the Benjamin Franklin of theology, was very careful of his language on this supreme point; and as long ago as 1800 drew in substance the distinction between chastisement and punishment. "Real and proper punishment," he wrote, "is not only the infliction of natural evil for the commission of moral evil, but the infliction of the one upon the person who committed the other, and in displeasure against him: it not only supposes criminality, but that the party punished was literally the criminal" (FULLER, ANDREW, *Works*, chap. 10, p. 34, quoted with approval by Professor PARK, *Bib. Sac.*, January, 1865, p. 174).

Modern theological science is substantially a unit on this topic, not in its vocabularies, but in its ideas. I dislike to take time on a point which needs to be elaborated nowhere out of Boston; but, if you will allow me to cite a school on which you may probably have looked with considerable arrogance, — the East Windsor Theological Institution, where the old school in New-England theology is represented, — you will find Professor Lawrence there, in his official article in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," saying of that school of theology, "The old school theology speaks freely of Christ as 'suffering the penalty of the law,' and as 'paying our debts.' *But it never implies that he was a sinner, suffering demerits.* 'Our guilt and punishment being, *as it were*, transferred to him,' says Calvin. Edwards says, 'He sufferred *as though* guilty.'" (LAWRENCE, Reverend Professor, of East Windsor Theol. Inst., on "The Old

School in N. E. Theol.," *Bib. Sac.*, April, 1863, p. 333. See also pp. 338, 339.)

The distinction between chastisement and punishment is very familiar in the instruction given at Andover in religious science.

If now, for using phraseology which recognizes this distinction between chastisement and punishment, I may be accused of giving up the doctrine of substitution, then all New-England theology is to be thus accused; then all schools, old and new, are to be supposed to have changed their ideas, because they have become more cautious in their language. The doctrine of the Atonement is such to me, that, without it, philosophy would lead by self-evident truth only to the conclusion that we of all men are most miserable, since we have sinned, and do not know a way of escape. There is to me such clearness in the demonstration of our need of an Atonement, that, if you say no Atonement ever has been made, philosophy to me is not glad tidings; for it is clear tidings of a necessity not met: therefore, to philosophy itself, the denial of the doctrine of substitution makes a desert of life.

5. But it is said that I have put forward Dean Stanley as a representative of Orthodoxy, and that he is a Unitarian (Mr. CLARKE, *Daily Advertiser*, April 30).

Not many months ago, Lady Augusta Stanley lay in her coffin in Westminster Abbey, and there at her side sat Thomas Carlyle. Who had been her chaplain? The American evangelist who has but just

left this city. On whose invitation? On her own. By whose consent? By her husband's. Who told you that? The American evangelist himself. What did he do? He conducted devotional exercises in Lady Stanley's sick-chamber. You talk about the breadth of Dean Stanley's Broad Church views! You must look at the upper part of the breadth as well as the lower. By the way, speaking of Carlyle, let me say that Mr. Ruskin has lately affirmed that Carlyle's opinion of Darwin, which I stated to you some months since, "will probably be remembered as long as any thing else that Carlyle ever said." That is reported, I beg you notice I say, as coming from Ruskin. According to written assurances sent to me by a literary gentleman of high rank who knows the person who heard Carlyle express his opinion of Darwin, there is every reason to trust that extract as Carlyle's own. Professor Tholuck of Halle in Germany told me that once he was invited to spend the winter in the south of Italy, with Thomas Carlyle, and doubted at first whether he had better accept the invitation, for fear there would be social dissonance on account of divergences of views. "I sought information," said Professor Tholuck; "and from England, on the highest authority, I was told there would be no dissonance; for Carlyle is a good Christian man." Have I not read what Carlyle says about the Thirty-nine Articles? Yes; and rejoice in it. Have I not read what he says about threshing mere straw in formulas of belief without soul behind them? Yes; and

thank God for every syllable the Prophet of Chelsea has written on that theme. I have heard also from the lips of your own Emerson, that Carlyle likes to quote his own father's expressions at family worship in old Scotland. I do not forget what Carlyle thought of Sterling, or what he said of the death of Edward Irving. "To Frederic, as to all of us," says Carlyle, "it was flatly inconceivable that intellect, moral emotion, could have been put into him by an Entity that had none of its own" (*Life of Frederic the Great*, last chapter). This language asserts the Personality of the Supreme Being, and proves, therefore, that Carlyle is no pantheist. There is even more between than in the lines of hundreds of pages that he has given to the world. I remember that Essay on Voltaire in which he writes explicitly: —

"We understand ourselves to be risking no new assertion, but simply reporting what is already the conviction of the greatest in our age, when we say, that cheerfully recognizing, gratefully appropriating, whatever Voltaire has proved, or any other man has proved, or shall prove, the Christian religion, once here, cannot again pass away; that, in one or the other form, it will endure through all time; that as in Scripture, so also in the heart of man, is written, 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Were the memory of this faith never so obscured, as, indeed, in all times, the coarse passions and perceptions of the world do all but obliterate it in the hearts of most, yet in every pure soul, in every poet and wise man, it finds a new missionary, a new martyr, till the great volume of universal history is finally closed, and man's destinies are fulfilled in this earth. 'It is a height to which the human species were fated and enabled to attain; and from which, having once attained it, they can never retrograde.'"

Distinguish between ideas and vocabularies, and you will find that Carlyle deserved what he received the other day from Dean Stanley, a certificate that "he never disdained the traditions of the Scottish church and nation." When I put in his lips the Litany, I took what all are obliged to subscribe who are in the renowned English Church. The prayer-book, as well as the articles, is subscribed, is it not? Of course I had a right to quote the flower as well as the root: out of the latter grows the former. I wished to indicate what popular theology is; and it was evidently necessary for me to take that which is most before the people, — the hallelujahs and the praises, the indication of the popular mind in worship. I took the most overt public part of the Church-of-England service to indicate what the popular theology is. Some scribblers have complained because I put the words of the Litany into the mouths of Carlyle and Stanley, and have thought the language of the Thirty-nine Articles could not have been used with the same effect. The words I cited from your Boston critic would have sounded weak and wicked, had I quoted them alone in Westminster Abbey, in presence only of God.

But now, as to Dean Stanley, three things are to be noticed: —

First, we must make a distinction between his breadth as an ecclesiastical politician and his breadth as a theologian. He is a representative of a national church such as we know nothing of in America. Any gentleman here, directly or indirectly connected

with that church, will allow me to say that the High Church and Low Church and Broad Church are quite as sharply antagonistic to each other as any of our Protestant denominations outside of the English Establishment. Dean Stanley is the representative of this national church, which must hold all kinds of culture together; and his great principle is a political one. He wishes to keep these warring elements from seceding until their real merits can be distinguished by time. His supreme principle is one of comprehension and trial. Let these conflicting ideas be kept inside the Church, says Dean Stanley; allow every man to hold any fairly reasonable opinion; let every such opinion have a place until its value is tested by time.

This is a breadth of ecclesiastical policy rather than of theology. Dean Stanley as a theologian is far less broad than Dean Stanley as an ecclesiastical politician. I am not discussing whether or not he is to be justified in taking that attitude as to a national church. Many of Dean Stanley's best friends declare that he ought to be more severe in excluding from the English Church some sections of sentiment, perhaps so broad that they hardly come within the range even of general tolerant Christianity. They say he ought to think more of the Christian Church than of the national church, and that he does not. But into that question I need not enter.

In the next place, it is to be remembered that Dean Stanley is by no means careless in his statements as to the doctrines of the Trinity and of the

Atonement. He holds such views as Charles Kingsley did; and what Kingsley's views of the Trinity were, I showed to you in detail the other morning. No doubt Charles Kingsley held erratic views on one or two points; but he was substantially sound on what the Church of England regards as the essentials of Christian truth, and so surely Stanley is, or he would not be where he is. Dean Stanley said not long ago in the chapel at Rugby,—I have his language before me,—"Thomas Arnold's words constantly come back to me as expressing better than any thing else my hopes and fears for this life and for the life to come." Everybody knows Stanley is the biographer of Thomas Arnold, and that Thomas Arnold was a man of a large, generous, illumined nature, and of great symmetry of character, but by no means what one would call a loose dreamer as to the highest of all truths. No doubt he was in the best sense of the word a liberal believer; but that word "liberal" I use as infrequently as possible, it has such an amazing resemblance to caoutchouc. Toward the bottom of the elastic scale of liberalism you may often find those who are ready to answer, if you ask what is a Christian, "He is man who is always learning, but never able to come to a knowledge of the truth;" and that comes pretty near to being the definition given in Music Hall the other evening. And, if you ask what does a Christian believe, "Why, any thing that means nothing in particular;" and that comes so fearfully near to being the definition given in Music Hall, that I do not dare

talk about the lower ranges of liberalism, lest I seem to slander the upper. [Applause.]

Now, Thomas Arnold believed something in particular; and Dean Stanley is a pupil, and professes himself to be theologically an enlarged copy, of Thomas Arnold. He is to be ranked with Kingsley and Robertson and Milman as a follower of Hooker, and an opponent of the influences of Laud. It is perfectly amazing to find the Broad-church party spoken of as carrying England over to that style of unscientific liberalism which I have just ridiculed. Why, only yesterday I opened a periodical not given to the theological discussion, and found the statement, that when Emerson came first to England many years ago, and Carlyle sounded his glories to such an extent that almost every circle in the country was anxious to obtain a glimpse of the Boston poet and philosopher, the current feeling was one of sorrow, that so brilliant a man as Emerson, so lovable, and so talented, should nevertheless be afflicted with a repugnant something, spoken of in whispers, like the small-pox, or the practice of cannibalism: this was his Unitarianism, Transcendentalism, Theodore-Parkerism. "But then he cannot be altogether sane," was the frequent comment. It is true that many English people of position are Unitarians. There is a brilliant man who is on the point of making an effort to get a seat in Parliament now, who has long been a disciple of Theodore Parker. "I feel bound to add," my English authority says, "that all with whom I have conversed say that his religious senti-

ments are the only drawbacks to his success; but the repugnance toward them felt by the majority of voters will prevent his getting the seat." The objection most offered in England to such views is the demoralizing effect they are considered to have on the average mass of society. Much of the political sentiment here described I abhor. But, when it is assumed that all England is turning over to Parker's views, it is important to notice straws like this, which show which way the wind blows.

But, in the third place, Dean Stanley is regarded in England and by scholars generally as a church historian rather than a theologian. He is the Macaulay of church historians. But, as to his ability as a theologian or philosopher, the London Times hints well a general opinion in its criticism on Dean Stanley's recent address at St. Andrew's University. It finds reason in that production for saying, that, if Dean Stanley's hopes are fulfilled, Christendom will have unity by and by, — "the unity of a landscape covered with mist" (*London Times*, March 17). The growing power of the scientific method does not prophesy for that style of unity a victorious future. But the London Times has usually failed, as many other authorities have done, to distinguish between Stanley's breadth as a church politician and his breadth as a theologian.

6. There is one more glittering specimen in my cabinet of misconception to be noticed; and then I must hasten to the conclusion of this exhibition of curiosities, many of them fossils, I hope. A man of

letters, a philanthropist, a citizen whom we all honor for his own deeds and for those of his fathers, said last night in Music Hall: "They tell you that God the Father entered into council with God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, and that in their infinite wisdom they devised a plan by which God the Son might meet the justice of God the Father, and that by this means the race of men should be saved, not from their sins, but from the punishment which their sins have justly deserved. Mr. Cook says I must not say that this is the substitution of an innocent Christ for guilty men. Mr. Boyd says I must; and Dr. Chalmers says I must." [Whatever his language, Dr. Chalmers does not mean that our Lord was personally blameworthy.] "But I do not care for the words. I never use any of them unless I am forced to, and that is not often. *The point I would impress on you is, that all this middle-age theology turns on the assumption that Jesus Christ saves men from their punishment simply.* But all the simpler theologies, all liberal theology, turn on the truth that God, because he is God, chooses to save his people from all sins." (*Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 7.)

So speaks Mr. Hale. But what definition of salvation has been given from time immemorial in idea, and what definition has been given here especially? "Salvation is permanent deliverance from both the love and the guilt of sin." Without deliverance from both these, peace with our whole environment is a natural impossibility. To assume that what is called evangelical theology is not careful to deliver

men from sin, as well as from the guilt of it, is as accurate as to say that Plymouth Rock will float, or that Bunker-hill Monument is the North Pole. I am patriotically pained by these astounding stretches of vapor in Boston. If these are the clear heights of the landscape which contains the population opposed to evangelical truth, what are the lower portions? If these are the sunlit peaks, what are the marshes? I have heard of a miraculous London fog so dense that you could not see a street-lamp when standing under it, though I never saw such a fog. I have seen one, however, in which you could not see one street-lamp from another; and I have heard of one which could be cut into slices with any delicate edge of steel. But I need all these styles of fogs to give me a perfect symbol for that style of vapor which must brood over the lower lands, if these amazing statements are the vapor brooding over the sunlit peaks. To be perfectly frank, and to speak kindly, evangelical scholars do regard these representations as astounding; and we think, if people believe them, — which we hope they do not, — those people who do believe them are a heavily befogged population.

7. But, my friends, all the peaks in this landscape in which I have been showing you a few heights are not thus wreathed in vapor. Go to Harvard University, which has had reason to think on this subject as no other college in the land has done. I turn to the words of the present preacher to the university; and I find him saying that he "remembers in his

boyhood a type of Calvinism as cold as it was bitter, in which spirit was wholly congealed into dogma." I should not admit quite that Jonathan Edwards, who spoke of "the soul of a true Christian as such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year, low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory, rejoicing, as it were, in a calm rapture, diffusing around a sweet fragrance, standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about, all in like manner opening their bosoms to drink in the light of the sun" (President EDWARDS'S works, vol. i. pp. 61, 62), — I should hardly concede that this Edwards, who might have been the first poet of his nation, if he had not chosen to be its first theologian, and who, if a man ever was a saint, was one, had wholly congealed his religion into a dogma. There is a law of development somewhere in religious history: so we heard yesterday from Professor Peirce himself. If there is a better Orthodoxy, it has been developed out of something behind it. It was the old school Orthodoxy that took Charles I. by the throat, and broke his neck. It was the old school Orthodoxy that fled from England in times of the icy breath of persecution, and that planted the common-school system in the rocky soil of New England. We had stern work to do; and it is perhaps natural that some stern things were said in stern days. But this very preacher of the renowned university yonder goes on to say, — and here we rise out of the vapor; here, thank God! is a sunlit peak: —

"What now terms itself Calvinism is a free, generous, earnest, philanthropic development of the religious life, with which I for one feel the most hearty and loving sympathy [applause]; nor do I believe that, under its auspices, New-England Congregationalism would have been rent in twain, as it was early in the present century." [Applause.]

Remember that these are not my words, but those of the Plummer Professor of Morals, and Preacher to Harvard University: —

"Lowest of all in the scale, yet the very thing we need most to shun, is the dogmatism of mere negations. As a Trinitarian, I should, as I desire to do now, worship the Father, love the Son, and pray for the Holy Spirit. But mere anti-Trinitarianism cannot by any possibility make me reverent or devout; and a ministry of negations, even though the negatives be all justifiable, is utterly fruitless, nay, worse, harmful, demoralizing, contemptible. A church which lays intense emphasis on what it does not believe, and whose members know not how to express any article of faith without a negative particle, is a nursery of scepticism and infidelity, and nothing better. At the same time there is no intolerance so bitter and scornful as that of the so-called churches whose faith consists in not believing." [Applause.]

So bravely spoke symmetry, strength, and devoutness of soul, in Professor Peabody, and so bravely were these words published (*Unitarian Review*, January, 1877, pp. 72–74).

8. Not far from Bunker Hill there is another sunlit peak; and, now that I am on this theme, I must point out how noticeable that summit yonder is, crowned with light.

"Professor Park," writes the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, in his Half-Century of Unitarian Controversy, "tried the whole resources of his amazingly acute and skilful mind upon these problems. We trust all our readers have perused that Convention Discourse of the Andover professor, to which we have more than once referred. We regard it, on the score of what it boldly affirms, and of what it so significantly implies, when taken in connection with its wonderful beauty of style, and its marvellous subtilty of analysis, as the most noteworthy contribution which Orthodoxy has made to the literature of New England for the last half-century. That single discourse would win fame for any preacher" (pp. 385, 386).

"It may be, that something will be offered to us as Orthodoxy which we shall pronounce to be better far than Unitarianism, — something which we can receive with the same sympathy of soul and cordiality of heart with which we read the writings of those who are constructing the new theology from the ruins of the old.

"We look with sincere and unprejudiced interest to the speculative and scholarly labors of the advanced minds in Orthodox communions. May God's blessing be on their labors, to keep them loyal to him, to Christ, and to the everlasting gospel of grace and redemption. If the new theology shall prove to be so much truer and better than 'Unitarianism' as to obliterate the sect whose visible increase it does withstand, we are ready to welcome it" (pp. 391, 402).

Gentlemen, that is sunlight; and these fogs lie far below this sky-kissed peak.

9. Open history as it stands recorded in the latest book written on the first century of our republic, — a set of essays by such men as Presidents Woolsey and Barnard, Francis A. Walker, Professor T. Sterry Hunt, Professor Sumner, E. P. Whipple, and others; and turn to Mr. Whipple's Essay on American Litera-

ture, and you will read, — this is not written for a partisan purpose, — "The theological protest against Unitarianism was made by some of the most powerful minds and learned scholars in the country, — by Stuart, Park, Edwards, Barnes, Robinson, Lyman Beecher, and the Alexanders, not to mention fifty others. The thought of these men still controls the theological opinion of the country; and their works are much more extensively circulated, and exert a greater practical influence, than the writings of such men as Channing, Norton, Dewey, Emerson, and Parker" (*The First Century of the Republic*, p. 372).

What is the summary of all this?

1. That there is manhood left, and clear thought, on both sides, and that, when the great peaks are seen, they do not scold each other, or the azure above them, but are reverently looking into each other's faces, asking how brotherhood under one sky can be brought about in consistency with clearness of thought.

2. That the vapors of misconception, the dense fogs which have made so many of us shy of each other, are unworthy of scholarship of the first rank. [Applause.]

3. That if such presentations of religious truth as are now regarded, and as in substance always have been regarded, as evangelical, had been in explicit as well as implicit use fifty or eighty years ago, God's house would not have been divided in Eastern Massachusetts.

4. That, if there was no reason for the division of

the house on the ground of such presentations as are now called evangelical, there is no longer any ground, in view of such presentations, for the house continuing to be divided against itself. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

It is a famous story concerning the Greek general Brasidas, that he looked out one morning upon the host that was attacking the city he was set to defend, and said, "Victory is ours; for I see that the spears in the files of the enemy are not in line. The ranks yonder are so illy trained, that their weapons will become sources of suicide before the sun shall set." Fasten your attention, gentlemen, on the quivering spears of the host who attack self-evident truth in its relations to that central Christian doctrine which we call the Atonement. My purpose is not controversial, but practical. I speak in the name of axioms only, and I have labored up to our present point of view with the hope of convincing you that the converging admissions of all who are good ethical scholars prove the necessity of a great arrangement, not made by man, to secure his harmonization with his entire environment.

It was an occasion on which history will look back with interest in this city, when James Freeman Clarke stood on the platform of Theodore Parker, in the absence of the latter in Italy, and criticised the system of Parker, as Dorner the great German theologian does, for underrating the significance of the

fact of sin. James Freeman Clarke took up his position on the ground of self-evident truth. He planted himself upon axioms. Like a scholar, he made his first appeal to self-evident propositions. Now, I am this morning to put under the lenses of ethical science a few of the admissions of Mr. Clarke, which are not very unlike the propositions I have been defending here in the name of axioms, and show you just whither these self-evident propositions lead. In order that I may not be accused of misrepresenting Mr. Clarke, you will allow me to read an extract here of the length of a page, —

"We think that if we analyze the feeling which the conscience gives us concerning the consequences of wrong-doing, it is this: first, conscience demands reparation to the injured party; second, it demands punishment as a satisfaction to be made to the law of right, and this suffering to be accepted as just by the guilty party; and, thirdly, it declares that guilt should produce an alienation or separation between the guilty party and those who are not guilty. A man hitherto respected and trusted by society commits some great breach of trust, and robs the community. Conscience requires that he should make atonement to those he has injured, by restitution; to the law of right which he has offended, by suffering some punishment; and to honorable men by keeping out of their way.

"This, which the conscience teaches of an injury done to man, it also teaches of an injury done to God. The offence against man is *a crime;* the offence against God is *a sin.* For a crime the conscience requires restitution, punishment with confession, and alienation from the good, which is shame: for a sin the conscience requires, in like manner, restitution, punishment, and alienation. It merely transfers to God's justice the ideas of atonement which human justice has given to it. . . .

"There is, however, a difficulty in *believing* that we can be forgiven. This difficulty is in the conscience; and, —

"(*a*) To say *there is no difficulty* will not remove it.

"(*b*) To *say that repentance and good works are enough will not remove it.*

"(*c*) To say that *God is merciful* will not remove it; for *the difficulty lies in the conscience*, which declares that every sin is, —

"1. An injury done to God.

"2. An injury to the moral universe; inasmuch as it is an example of evil, and a defiance of right.

"3. An injury to ourselves, by putting us away from God, the source of life, and alienating us from him.

"The *inward voice of conscience is always saying that God ought not to forgive us without some reparation made for the injury done to himself, to the universe, and to ourselves.*" (CLARKE, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 246–248.)

This is not an evangelical author. Here is straightforward adherence, thus far, to the plain inferences from the great natural operations of conscience. Up to this point, there is no parting company in linked scholarship all through the world; and Mr. Clarke knows there is not.

"Conscience is always saying that God ought not to forgive us." God always does what he ought to do. Conscience does not tell Munchausen tales. These laws, by which we know how to harmonize ourselves with our environment, so far forth it is merely human, are one and the same with the moral laws which sweep through the universe, and reveal to us, therefore, how we are to obtain harmonization with that wider environment.

But now, having gone thus far, how does Mr. Clarke escape from the conclusion which follows very

naturally from these propositions of ethical science? Why, by denying the unity of the moral law! This is his language: "God's justice is not like man's." Now, there is a sense in which that is true; but when you interrogate conscience, and find it always proclaiming that something ought to be, that is an exhibition, not of man's justice, but of God's justice. I put this to any scholar, — to Mr. Clarke himself, — whether Bishop Butler, the best student of conscience in modern times, would justify him in saying that what the inward voice of conscience "always" says has not in it a revelation of God. Why, it is one of Mr. Clarke's teachings, that conscience has in it a something in us, but not of us, — something really Divine. It is held by the acutest scholarship that the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world is one with the Holy Ghost, shed forth from our ascended Lord. Go to your Dorner and Martensen and Rothe, and all the best students of religious science, from the side of ethics and evangelical truth, and you will find them rejoicing to illustrate in all detail, and with the full radiance of philosophy as well as of evangelical learning, the truth that the Holy Spirit is the present Christ; and they identify it with the innermost holiest of conscience. [Applause.] Now, I affirm, that the moral law is a part of the natural law, and that law is a unit throughout the universe; and that therefore we cannot escape from the consequences of such an admission as this, that the inward voice of conscience always says that God "ought not" to forgive us, except on a threefold

condition, by simply saying "God's justice is not like man's." The ideas of the Atonement drawn from our human experience, Mr. Clarke says, "are essentially false" (p. 247). But, if the ideas that come to us from the moral natural law are essentially false, how is it that we do not fall into scepticism about the physical natural laws? We know that law is a unit; and that therefore this earth, although an atom in immensity, is immensity itself in the revelation of truth. We believe in the unity of law. The law of gravitation is the same here, and in Orion, and the Seven Stars. Tell me what the moral law is here, and I will tell you what it is in the Unseen Holy. It is disloyalty of the most extreme sort to the scientific method, to endeavor to escape from any proposition by denying the unity of the moral law; for the unity and universality of law are among the most haughty and irrefutable teachings of all science. [Applause.]

It is admitted, then, by Mr. Clarke: —

1. That conscience demands reparation to the injured party.

2. That it demands punishment as a satisfaction to the law of right.

3. That this suffering is to be accepted as just by the guilty party.

4. That guilt should produce a separation between the guilty and those who are not guilty.

5. That what the conscience teaches of an injury done to man, it also teaches of an injury done to God.

6. That offence against man is a crime, and that against God is a sin.

7. That conscience transfers to God's justice the ideas of Atonement which human justice has given to it.

8. That, without other light than that of conscience, there is a difficulty in believing that we can be forgiven.

9. That to say there is no difficulty will not remove it.

10. That to say repentance and good works are enough will not remove it.

11. That to say that God is merciful will not remove it.

12. That the difficulty is in the conscience, and that the inward voice is *always* saying that God *ought* not to forgive us without some reparation made for the injury done to himself, to the universe, and to ourselves.

13. Theodore Parker admitted this supreme fact as to the natural operations of conscience (*Theism*, last discourse).

14. All established ethical science asserts this fact as an inevitable inference from intuition, instinctive belief, and the experience of man age after age.

With the emphasis of his hand upon his heart, a scholar whom I suppose to be the best representative of the learning of unevangelical Christianity in this country, a professor who lives not a hundred miles from Boston, said to me in the Athenæum Library lately, without any cross-questioning from me, "There

is a difficulty in conscience as to our peace, when we once have sinned; and that difficulty in the structure of human nature has sustained the doctrine of the vicarious Atonement, before the attacks of philosophy, century after century." He seemed to think that he was pointing to a proof-text of not much consequence; but to me this human nature, the serious volume he thus put aside in order to read some more authoritative proof-text out of the Scriptures, was itself the oldest scripture; was that scripture in harmony with which all other scripture must be interpreted; was, in short, the supreme although not all-sufficing revelation of God by being a revelation of the unity of the moral law,—the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

15. All these admissions point to the necessity of an Atonement.

16. But Clarke and Parker, and the schools of thought they represent, deny this necessity.

17. They do this, and they can do this, only by denying explicitly or implicitly the universality of law.

18. *The affirmation is made, that the ideas we draw from what conscience is saying constantly are essentially false.*

We must give all the intuitions supreme authority in our religious science. The intuitions of conscience, which prove the philosophical accuracy of distinctively biblical evangelical ideas must have no authority in our religious science!

Here is the supreme self-contradiction in Theodore

Parker's system and in every similar scheme of thought. Such systems evade the challenge which Julius Müller and Dorner accept, to follow up this inner voice of conscience, and receive the testimony of all intuition, instinctive belief, and experiment, whithersoever they lead. It is admitted that conscience affirms that God ought not to harmonize us with our entire environment without a great arrangement which exhibits at once his love and his justice, What ought to be will be. By and by it will be seen that we ought not to deny the unity of the moral law, and so we shall not. The philosophy is coming that will be true to all self-evident truth, north, south, east, and west, and will be liberal enough to look into the thirty-two points of the azure before it decides on any proposition, great or small. [Applause.] When that day comes, this inner voice will be left to its proper authority; and the necessity of the Atonement will be an inference from exact ethical science. Mr. Clarke says implicitly that the ideas we draw from what conscience is always saying to us ought to be, are essentially false. I affirm that this denial of the authority of conscience in its innermost voice is unscientific on Mr. Clarke's part, and on the part of all that school of theology which will not harmonize itself with the supreme fact of the Atonement. [Applause.] I maintain that to say that the ideas we draw from the inmost holiest of conscience mislead us in religious research is to deny the unity and the universality of law, and to shut the eyes to a part of the Light that lighteth

every man that cometh into the world, and so is at once unscientific and irreligious. Here Orthodoxy and the Scripture part company with loose thought, and keep company with conscience and science. [Applause.]

IX.

SCEPTICISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE MAY 14.

"Nescire autem, quid antea, quam natus sis, acciderit, id est semper esse puerum." — CICERO: *Or.* 34.

"Ich bin der Geist der stets verneint."
GOETHE: *Faust.*

IX.

SCEPTICISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

EMERSON says that the poorest poem is better than the best criticism upon it; and so we may say that the poorest really conscientious life is incalculably better than the acutest worldly sneer concerning it. Men outside the Church, when asked to unite with it, sometimes complain that there are many stunted, fruitless growths in the Church. Poor native spiritual endowments in Christians are the result of poor soil in which they grow; and the world that sneers is itself the soil. It will be noticed, that, as I am not in charge of any church, I have not the slightest personal interest at stake in any thing I may say of the value of church-membership. But if, in a free church in a free state, I utter a single word on that now timely and always greatly suggestive theme, I shall of course be met in some enlightened quarters with the profound remark, that all the effort that has been made in Boston this winter has been incited by a desire to pay church-debts. Well, that is a good object. "Owe no man any thing" is a

divine maxim. An obscure infidel paper in this city shrewdly judges that the entire effort has been intended to fill up the membership of the evangelical churches. The Springfield Republican said the other day that the Boston Index would find something mean and atrocious in the proposition that two and two make four, if that statement were a part of the Apostles' Creed.

Every true church is a contract, not between two parties only, but three. It is not only an agreement of men with men, but of men with God. In disbanding a church, men alone cannot annul the contract. This is the scholarly idea of the bond of Christians in fellowship with each other and with an invisible Head. Thus the Christians of the world are really and confessedly members of a theocracy. You think Cromwell's and Milton's dream of a theocracy failed. Many an archangel pities you; and all the deep students of science among men smile, if you say this seriously. God governs; and his kingship is no pretence. Our best hope for America is, that like every other part of the universe, it is a theocracy. A true church is the outward form among men of God's kingdom in human history; and it illustrates his kingdom in all worlds.

We must look on every true church as really a divine institution; for it is a contract with the unseen Power that is filling the world, just as the magnetic currents of the globe fill all the needles on it. Our Lord was, and is, and is to come; and in all true believers he is as much present as the magnetic cur-

rents of the globe are in the balancing needles that point out the north pole rightly, if they are true to the currents that are in them, but not of them. The Church is our Lord's body; the Church is our Lord's temple; the Church brings every true believer into contact with the deepest inmost of our Lord's present life in the world; and this is the supreme reason for uniting with it. *It is painfully evident here, I hope, that I am speaking of a true church, and not of a Sunday club.*

Experience has shown that most men who do not unite with the Church drop away from their early religious life. The two great reasons for uniting with a true Church are, that you are likely to grow more inside the Church than out of it, and that you can probably do more good in it than out of it.

To which church do I ask you to join yourselves? I wish you could find out. Am I making a party plea? I wish you would ascertain on which side it is made. I know, perhaps, five hundred young men who are members of churches; but I do not know of twenty of them to which evangelical church they belong, nor do I care. It is not a partisan plea I am making in asking you to become a member of the visible church; and, if you are a member of the true invisible church, you will assuredly wish to aid in making some part of the visible church a true church.

But you say that creeds are long. They are quite short in some places, although they are deep. Not a few newspapers have lately cited a portion of the Andover creed, which the professors there sign.

That is in form a very different creed from the one that belongs to the Andover Chapel Church. The public does not seem to know that the detailed statement or confession which the professors may very well be called on to subscribe is a different thing from that statement of essentials which Andover puts into a church creed. The Andover Chapel Church creed is hardly longer than my hand is broad; but it is as deep as any rift in the granite that goes to the core of the world. The best church creeds include great essentials, and no more. I think now especially of the short creed in the Yale College Church, written by President Dwight, not very wide, but fathomlessly deep. These are simply the creeds which you wish to make the basis of your action, and therefore may well make the basis of your profession.

I hold in my hand the creed which the American evangelist, who will soon lead our devotions, subscribed twenty-one years ago in Boston. That confession of faith has by the Divine blessing amounted to something in the world. As a ray of keen light for others, our evangelist will allow me, in his presence, to read, what perhaps he never has seen, the record on the church books, of his examination in that house of God yonder in which he first resolved to do his duty: —

"No. 1079. Dwight L. Moody. Boards 43 Court Street. Has been baptzied. First awakened on the 16th of May. Became anxious about himself. Saw himself a sinner; and sin now seems hateful, and holiness desirable. Thinks he has

repented. Has purposed to give up sin. Feels dependent upon Christ for forgiveness. Loves the Scriptures. Prays. Desires to be useful. Religiously educated. Been in the city a year. From Northfield, this State. Is not ashamed to be known as a Christian. Eighteen years old.

"No. 1131. March 12, 1856. Thinks he has made some progress since he was here before, — at least in knowledge. Has maintained his habits of prayer, and reading the Bible. Believes God will hear his prayers. Is fully determined to adhere to the cause of Christ always. Feels that it would be very bad if he should join the church, and then turn. Must repent of sin, and ask forgiveness for Christ's sake. Will never give up his hope, or love Christ less, whether admitted to the church or not. His prevailing intention is to give up his will to God.

"Admitted May 4, 1856."

That is a most moving record. Gentlemen, I hold that this is an examination that no church need feel ashamed of; and the results of it are of the same character.

The Christian ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper you do not approach closely unless you come into the Church. In close contact with illumined souls there is a power which will come to you nowhere outside of God's house. Why is it that there is such strange influence exerted upon itself by a great assembly all of one mind? Go to the little gatherings where some men of the class that neglect God's house spend their Sundays, — fire-engine rooms and the secret clubs for drinking, — and all the sentiment runs one way there. Such men are like eels in pools of the muddy sort, and often come to think that their pool is the whole ocean. You are easily trans-

fused with the spirit of any company that moves all one way. Put yourselves into the crystalline springs and streams. Somewhere in the Church you will find crystalline waters. There is a church inside the Church. *Move in that; live enswathed in that.* Let that be the transfusing bath of your inmost life; and very soon you will find in the power of that interfusion of soul with soul that assuredly God is yet in his holy temple.

Yes; but there are hypocrites in the Church. I know it. Let Tennyson describe one: —

> "With all his conscience and one eye askew,
> So false, he partly took himself for true;
> Whose pious talk, when most his heart was dry,
> Made wet the crafty crow's-foot round his eye;
> Who never naming God except for gain,
> So never took that useful name in vain;
> Made him his cat's-paw, and the Cross his tool,
> And Christ the bait to trap his dupe and fool;
> Nor deeds of gift, but gifts of grace, he forged,
> And, snake-like, slimed his victim ere he gorged;
> And oft at Bible-meetings, o'er the rest
> Arising, did his holy, oily best."
>
> *Tennyson's Sea-Dreams.*

The black angels look through pillars of blue fire of that sort. Do you want the Church better? Unite with it, and turn out such men; or, rather, unite with it, and keep such men from getting in. [Applause.]

Perhaps some of our churches are too ambitious to be large in numbers. Let us be reasonably shy

of that church ambition which cares more for quantity than quality. Our evangelist has said that he once in Chicago was ambitious to have a big church. He obtained one. Then he became ambitious to get a small one. A recognition of the necessity of spiritual church-membership is the crowning glory of the churches of America of all denominations; and it is almost a distinctively American idea.

Think of the host in the air behind me, as I invite you to become members of God's house! Here is a visible audience which might be enlarged to fill the city, or the nation, or the continent, or the world; but even then the audience before me would be as a ripple compared with the sea, in contrast with this audience in the air behind me, — all the sainted of our New-England shore, all who have gone hence from foreign lands, and are now in the Unseen Holy! The Church is one on earth and in heaven. Think of the martyrs of the Reformation, those who, on the Continent of Europe, prepared the way for this modern rising of the sun, and of all those who in the eighteen Christian centuries have labored, and into whose labors we have entered. The goodly company of the martyrs and apostles and prophets is before you. With all that company I urge you to join hands, when I ask you to pass your brief career in this world in organized, aggressive companionship with those who have a zeal for good works.

THE LECTURE.

New-England scepticism of the last fifty years is the upheaved, foaming, temporary crest of two interfused waves, slowly rising from the historic deep, moving toward each other, meeting with loud shock, and throwing themselves aloft, — one American, and one German. Theodore Parker and much else floated in Boston at the summit of this glittering, uncertain crest, when each wave was at its height, and when in New England each increased the height of the other. In Germany the watery swell of rationalism is going down. (See Dorner, Schwartz, Kahnis, Christlieb, Hagenbach, Tholuck, and other writers on the decline of rationalism in the German universities. On that topic see an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1875.) In New England the vexed billow which upheaved Theodore Parker is going down also. Both waves have already broken into foam, passed their climax, and are slowly sinking now into the thoughtful, abiding level of the sea.

Under what compulsion of winds and tides did these waves rise? Answer me that question, or do not attempt to explain to me Boston and New England. Make some fairly adequate response to that inquiry, or do not try to tell me how Theodore Parker's errors, and those of the school of thought he represents, arose. In order to understand the sources of his mistakes, it is necessary for me to cast what I hope will not be a wholly useless glance

over the causes of New-England scepticism at large. Long enough has this city had the name, long enough has Harvard University yonder had the reputation, it does not now deserve, of leading erratic thought in regard to the highest of all possible themes. A very curious past is behind us.

When Timothy Dwight, soldier, poet, and theologian, *magnum atque venerabile nomen*, began his presidency at Yale College in 1795, the students there were accustomed to name each other after the French atheists. Jefferson, suspected of French principles in both religion and politics, was soon to become the chief magistrate of the nation. The enthusiasm for Lafayette and for Gallican liberty had inclined the heart of our whole people toward France. The atrociously shallow and unclean, but brilliant and audacious Parisian infidelity of the period looked attractive, even to the most talented and scholarly undergraduates. "That was the day," Lyman Beecher writes in his "Autobiography" (vol. i. p. 43), "when boys that dressed flax in the barn read Tom Paine, and believed him. The college church was almost extinct. Most of the students were sceptical, and rowdies were plenty. Wines and liquors were kept in many rooms. Intemperance, profanity, gambling, and licentiousness were common." Lyman Beecher was in Yale College as a student in his third year, when Timothy Dwight came there as president; and now these two men lie not far from each other in the unspeakably precious dust of the New Haven cemetery, at rest until the heavens are

no more. At the first communion season after President Dwight's installation, only a single student from the whole membership of the college remained to participate in the service of the eucharist. In all the history of the American Church there has hardly been an hour of greater disaster. The senior class brought before the president a list of questions for discussion, one of them on the inspiration of the Scriptures (DWIGHT'S *Theology*, Memoir, vol. i. See also SPARKS'S *Life of Dwight*). He chose that theme for a written debate, asked the young men to be as thorough as possible on the infidel side, treated them courteously, answered them fairly, delivered for six months from the college pulpit massive courses of thought against infidelity; and from that day it ran into hiding-holes in Yale College.

If Harvard University had had a President Dwight, I say not what might have been its subsequent history and that of portions of Cambridge and Boston; but it would have been different. Among the eloquent memorials of the fathers, Mr. Emerson, in the Old South church, lately told us that Providence has granted to Boston thus far the guidance of the intellectual destiny of this continent. Boston is a sea-blown city of amusingly self-blown trumpets. It is safe to affirm, that, in the geography of American culture, Boston is as yet, in the opinion of many, and especially in her own, the highest summit. But Harvard University is Boston's summit. Religious diseases, originated chiefly by contagion from France in her revolutionary period, and by many years of

war on our own soil, filled the veins of Harvard, as well as those of Yale, at the opening of our national life. At the close of the last century, Harvard, as well as Yale, was in a vicious state, induced chiefly by the very same causes which had produced demoralization at Yale. Under the elms yonder, as well as under those at New Haven, sceptical students called each other in honor by infidel names,—Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert. In that Parisian period, unreportable vices were as common at Harvard as at Yale. We have just had a pleasant book written, describing student life in Harvard as it unrolls itself at present, and as many of you and as I remember it; but a volume describing life there ninety years ago, and as frankly written as this new description, we should not care to have generally circulated. In several works of historic fiction the average undergraduate of that time is represented as a low character. You know what pictures the world received from Hogarth; but some of the scenes he has put on immortal canvas to illustrate "The Rake's Progress" might be matched out of the fairly representative life of Yale and Harvard in that French period. The average undergraduate of the last years of the last century, at both Yale and Harvard, was far less of a gentleman, and immensely less of a Christian, than he is today. Why, at Harvard at this moment a great body of the students are members of churches, and, other things being equal, are not thought the less of on that account. I hold in my hand here elaborate statistics as to recent classes in Harvard University. Take

one of the very last, and in it there were, of men about to graduate, of Unitarians, 39; Episcopalians, 35; Congregationalists, 23; Baptists, 11; Presbyterians, 6; Liberals, 4; Methodists, 2; Roman Catholics, 2. According to that table, there is really more reason for calling Harvard an orthodox college than a heterodox. The college is not denominational in any sense. It would not like to be called Unitarian, or Congregational, or Episcopal. Among the students there are well organized and vigorous religious societies, and the conditions of admission to them are more severe than to most churches. I find reason, therefore, for contrasting the present with the past of Harvard favorably. But this change has come about within the last fifty years. At Yale, in my class, we had more than two-thirds on entrance, members of Christian churches. I know that we hear of scandalous things in these large companies of students at Yale and at Harvard. You cannot bring together a thousand young men, without finding a few among them of the shallow and riotous sort; but they do not give the tone to the whole college. Perhaps they do to a few secret societies, — breathing-holes of frivolity, and often of what is far worse. The mass of students are honorable men, and come from honorable families, although at the present day it can be said that a few are what the most were in the last twenty years of the last century, at Yale and Harvard. Certain it is that these diseases of a greatly tempted time existed in Cambridge with as much intensity as they did at New Haven. Certain it is that

at Harvard there was no President Dwight to drive them out, as there was at Yale. The atmosphere of Harvard as well as of Yale at the opening of our national life was heavily infected with Parisian infidelity, but no adequate corrective was applied at Harvard; and, although the evil results are now largely outgrown, they have been very noteworthy to those who have minutely studied how the sick forehead of a certain kind of culture in Boston, laid in the palm of God to rest, has tossed there with doubt, as in Channing's and Parker's case, whether the hand was ever pierced for human sins; and now lately with doubt, as with some of the Free-Religionists, whether there be any personal hand at all or not.

Boston is asked to give an account of herself. She had excellent fathers; but she has of late had the name of being the apologist for much looseness of thought. We are willing to give an account of ourselves. We have had a trial such as no other Commonwealth on this continent ever had. We have had a State Church. How did this arise? Yale and Harvard were founded by men of Christian zeal; and how did it come about, that, in so short a time, these institutions lapsed into a condition that gave joy to the shallow infidel clubs of Paris? All Frenchmen were not like Lafayette. These results arose from adequate causes, which ought not to be forgotten. If you wish to understand Boston doctrinal unrest, you must go back first to the period when Paris ruled us. You must recall the time when Lafay-

ette and Jefferson had our heart, and we were not a little in awe or admiration of that very brittle sceptre, — Parisian thought about religion, a style of intellectual allegiance that no man is proud of now. The infidelity which flourished in 1795 in Yale and Harvard among young men, no scholar to-day cares to answer for: it is an unclean and degraded thing. We have grown far beyond all that. How did we sink so low as to follow that pillar of ashes and blood which rose on the Seine, and led the nations not altogether celestially for a while — a little electricity in it, no doubt; some white-fire mingled with the blue in the whirlwind; but Saharas of dust also, and hosts of hissing, flying scraps of white-hot volcanic stone?

Our fathers did not believe that a man might be a minister, although unconverted; but when George Whitefield was in this city, it was necessary for him to insist that a man should not be a minister unless converted. (See WHITEFIELD'S *New England Journal, passim.*) On Boston Common, with twenty thousand people in his audience, George Whitefield defended the proposition that a man does not become a saint in his sleep; that conversion is an ascertainable change, or will show itself by its effects; and that if the results which will naturally follow from such a state of life are not visible, their absence is proof that a man should not be a member of God's house. Why did he need to oppose in New England, ideas which did not cross the Atlantic in the Mayflower? How did New England wander so far away from

Plymouth Rock, and find herself in this low marsh, where many of the State churches of Europe are struggling to-day? Why, she fell into that marsh by having herself a State Church. The marshes of the State churches of Europe, — you understand them very well. We had the oozy acres of a State Church to walk over in Massachusetts for more than fifty years; and the smutch is not off our feet yet that we received in those bogs.

In 1631 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay passed an order that "for time to come none shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but church-members." What is the effect of making a rule that nobody can vote unless he is a church-member? Why, everybody will want to be a church-member, and there will be large churches, and you will admit men into the church whom it will be very hard to get out. Now, it was a public law of this Commonwealth, passed early, with all due form, that only church-members could vote. That was eleven years after the landing on Plymouth Rock. Remember, however, that the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, rather than the Pilgrims of Plymouth Bay, are responsible for the secularization of the holiest portion of New-England life. Where did that law come from? It was a thrifty scion from the far-spreading European bough. Our fathers had seen children baptized and confirmed in State churches; and it was thought, that, in some sense, all baptized persons were members of the church. That was and is the predominating opinion of Europe. This idea the

Puritans of England — who were not separatists, as the Pilgrims were — did not leave behind them when they crossed the sea. So we had here in my denomination — the most aristocratic on this continent, if you please, and the most split, and, in some particulars, the most harmful — a State Church.

The Puritans who landed in Boston brought to America the theory that every child should be made, as far as possible, a member of the church; and, therefore, it was a part of their anxiety in founding a new civilization to have all children baptized. Those of our fathers who were not separatists had State Church ideas concerning the baptism of children. The secularization of Orthodoxy in New England arose primarily from the desire of the Puritans to secure the religious culture of the whole population. The law of 1631 was passed with the best of intentions, but it had the most mischievous effects.

What happened next? In 1635 we turned Roger Williams away from the Massachusetts Colony, chiefly for political reasons, as the highest authority on this vexed theme, the learned editor of "The Boston Congregationalist," says and proves, in spite of the dissent of Rhode Island and of Brown University. (See DEXTER, Rev. Dr. H. M., *As to Roger Williams*, p. 79.) The reasons why Roger Williams was sent away were no doubt fundamentally political: nevertheless, one source of irritation with him was that he objected to the baptizing of infants. Why did he do that? Among many other reasons, because he saw that to regard all baptized persons as, in an important

sense, members of the church, led to the secularization of church-membership. I remember where I am speaking; I know what prejudices I am crossing: but I know that in this assembly, assuredly, nobody will have objection to my advocacy, even at a little expense of consistency with my own supposed principles, of the necessity of a spiritual church-membership. [Applause.] If I say that a certain denomination, represented by that man who was driven from Massachusetts to Rhode Island, has, in spite of all we hear of criticism about one of its beliefs, been of foremost service in bringing into the world, among all Protestant denominations, an adequate idea of the importance of a spiritual church-membership, I know that no generous heart or searching intellect will object to that statement. [Applause.]

In 1653 no less a man than Henry Dunster, president of Harvard University, announced himself as an opponent to the doctrine that infants should be baptized. He refused to allow an infant of his own family to be baptized, and delivered several sermons against the baptism of infants. Baptist authorities assert that Henry Dunster became a Baptist. (See an address delivered in Philadelphia, before the American Baptist Historical Society at its eleventh anniversary, by Rev. Daniel C. Eddy. Philadelphia: Historical Society Press, 1864.) But he continued to be president of Harvard University. His pastor, the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, in 1657, on account of collisions of debate of the kindest sort between himself and this revered man, who had been his

teacher, caused a synod to be called, in which action was taken of which we feel the mischief yet. Questions raised as to the baptism of children had "come to some figure first in the colony of Connecticut." (MATHER'S *Magnalia*, vol. ii. p. 238. Hartford ed.). A comparison of all the authorities, however, shows that both Mitchell of Cambridge and Stone of Hartford were leading forces among the influences which brought together the Massachusetts council of 1657. (See MCKENZIE, Rev. Dr. A., *History of the Shepard Church*, Cambridge.) This Jonathan Mitchell would have been quite a figure in that sky of culture which some think too soft, too transcendental, for any thing in the stern days of our fathers to have risen into. The recent structure of the Shepard Church in Cambridge stands yonder under the Washington Elm, — it is my fortune to be a member of it, — Mr. McKenzie's; and of that church, successor to Shepard, this Jonathan Mitchell was pastor. Cotton Mather says of him, —

"His *Sermons*. . . . were admirably *Well-Studied*. . . . He ordinarily medled with no Point, but what he managed with such an extraordinary *Invention*, Curious *Disposition*, and Copious *Application*, as if he would leave no material Thing to be said of it, by any that should come after him. And when he came to Utter what he had Prepared, his Utterance had such a becoming *Tuneableness*, and *Vivacity*, to set it off, as was indeed *Inimitable*. . . . Tho' he were all along in his Preaching, *as a very lovely Song of one that hath a pleasant Voice*, yet as he drew near to the Close of his Exercises, his Comely *Fervency* would rise to a marvellous Measure of *Energy;* He would speak with such a Transcendent *Majesty* and *Liveliness*, that the Peo-

ple (more *Thunderstruck* than they that heard *Cicero's* Oration for *Ligarius*) would often *Shake* under his Dispensations, as if they had Heard the *Sound* of the *Trumpets* from the *Burning Mountain*, and yet they would *Mourn* to think, that they were going presently to be dismissed from such an *Heaven upon Earth*." (See SIBLEY, JOHN LANGDON, librarian of Harvard University, *Lives of Harvard Graduates*, pp. 148–150.) Richard Baxter said that "if there could be convened a Council of the whole Christian World, that man would be worthy to be the moderator of it."

Now that man came very near opposing himself to infant baptism. On the twenty-fourth day of December, 1653, with arguments elaborately prepared, he went to the study of Henry Dunster to convince the president of Harvard University that opposition to infant baptism was wrong; but Jonathan Mitchell came away almost converted to Henry Dunster's views. He found, that, in his secret thoughts, it was injected into his mind now and then, that infant baptism had certain mischievous tendencies in the State. But these suggestions came oftenest on Saturday, when he was very busy writing his address for the next day; and he thought, therefore, that they were from the evil spirits. It could not be good angels that sent these suggestions; for no good spirit would interrupt the writing of a sermon. Besides, although "these thoughts were darted in with some impression, and left a strange confusion and sickliness on his spirits," they were "injected, hurrying suggestions, rather than deliberate thoughts." On these grounds chiefly, Jonathan Mitchell, in the days of Salem witchcraft, concluded that all arguments against in-

fant baptism must be put aside. The question was settled in his own mind; but the importance of these interruptions turned out to be really considerable to New England to this hour. He insisted on debating the matter in public over and over; and his influence, says Cotton Mather, was something of which the centre was at Cambridge, and the circumference outside New England.

Largely by the effort of this eloquent man, Mitchell, there was brought together at Boston, in 1657, by invitation of the General Court, an assembly of the principal ministers of Massachusetts; and by that body of grave men it was ordained that the half-way covenant be adopted. By that covenant those parents who were baptized in infancy were, if living respectable lives, allowed to have their children baptized. Church-members became eligible to civil offices. (See MATHER'S *Magnalia*, vol. ii. pp. 238–270. Hartford ed.)

Notice how the political strain was on Massachusetts all the way through. That decision gave great umbrage to the churches. President Chauncy of Harvard opposed it; and in 1662 another synod was called, and it was affirmed again that the half-way covenant should be the rule of the land. That changed one or two thousand things.

It is an inadequate account of the origin of secularization of New-England orthodoxy, to attribute the half-way covenant exclusively to religious causes. If we look beneath the surface of this deterioration in its middle stages, we shall find political causes at

work. Palfrey well says (*History of New England*, vol. ii. p. 492) that "the degree of irritation that prevailed" concerning the half-way covenant "is scarcely to be explained by a consideration of only the ostensible grounds of dispute. 'From the fire of the altar,' says Mather (*Magnalia*, Book iii. 117) 'there issued thunderings and lightnings and earthquakes.' The truth is, that political regards brought their explosive fuel to the flame."

The fashion had been set that only church-members could be eligible to public office. I know that in 1688, on the accession of William and Mary, the law that required church-membership as a condition to citizenship was repealed; but you cannot raise a great wave like this, and stop it by changing rulers in England. We had had it from 1631 to 1688. It was the rule that only church-members should be eligible to office, and partly, as a result of that, we had had a half-way covenant. Long after 1688, that rule of fashion and the half-way covenant kept on in spite of the changes of laws under William and Mary.

It is, therefore, not surprising that in 1704 we find men like Stoddard of Northampton maintaining that unregenerate persons might come to the Lord's Supper. Whitefield wrote in 1740, "Mr. Stoddard is much to be blamed for endeavoring to prove that unconverted men might be admitted into the ministry."

To close this astounding story of the secularization of New-England Congregationalism, we find at last Jonathan Edwards and Whitefield making objection

seriously to the prolonged abuses of the church-membership. When Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, finding out that some moral evils greatly needing criticism were appearing in the younger lives he was set to guide, taught that unconverted persons should not be members of God's house, opposed his predecessor's evil plea that church ordinances are or may be saving, and insisted that a man should experience the new birth before coming to the communion service, his hearers rose, and drove him into the wilderness for ascetic heresy. I know where in Massachusetts I can put my hand on little irregular scraps of brown paper, stitched together as note-books, and closely covered all over with Jonathan Edwards's handwriting. Why did he use such coarse material in his studies? Why was he within sight of starvation? Because he had opposed the secularization of the Church. Why did that man need to accept from Scotland funds with which to maintain his family? Because he insisted upon a spiritual church-membership. Why did his wife and daughters make fans, and sell them to buy bread? Because he opposed the spirit of the half-way covenant. Because he defended with vigor, as Whitefield did, the idea that a man should not be a minister unless converted, nor a church-member unless converted, and so set himself against the whole trend of this huge, turbid, hungry, haughty wave of secularization that had been rising ever since 1631. Of course he was abandoned by the fashionable. Of course his life was in some sense a martyrdom. His note-books were made from the refuse of

brown paper left from the fans. There is nothing Massachusetts so little likes to be fanned with as those fans Jonathan Edwards's wife and daughters made, and sold for bread. Yes, you starved him; but Scotland fed him, thank God! [Applause.] When Edwards was dismissed, it was proposed that there be a council of ten pastors; and he of course claimed the right of choosing five; but he was obliged to go beyond the broad bounds of old Hampshire County in order to find five who agreed with him. He went to Mount Holyoke, a marked spot then, apparently, as it is now, in the spiritual history of New England, and obtained Woodbridge of South Hadley as one of the council, because Woodbridge agreed with him in opposition to this secularization of the church.

Political pressure and social arrogance led to the half-way covenant. That led to an unconverted church-membership. That allowed the existence of an unconverted ministry. That ministry filled the land with the hue and cry against Whitefield and Edwards.

I hold in my hand a copy of a record made as late as 1728 on the official books of a church in Westfield; and it is a specimen of the records you may find all over Eastern Massachusetts. I go up and down from the Merrimack to the Connecticut as a flying scout, and every now and then I chance to meet a talkative document like this: —

"At a church-meeting holden in Westfield Feb. 25, 1728, *Voted*, that those who enter full communion may have liberty to give an account of a work of saving conversion, *or not. It shall be regarded by the church as a matter of indifference.*"

Gentlemen, out of the fashion of the English State Church, the care of our fathers for their children, and the political pressure which preceded the accession of William and Mary, came the half-way covenant. Out of the half-way covenant came the secularization of the church-membership of the Congregational body in New England. Out of our connection with the State came marshes of stagnant church-life here, similar to the marshes of much of State Church life in Europe to-day. There is hardly a breeze that sweeps over Boston that does not come from those marshes, not yet dry, and that never had any salt in them to keep them sweet. You know that I am speaking here more frankly than I could have spoken fifty years ago; for it has not been the fashion, in my portion of New England, denominationally to admit the evil of this half-way covenant as fully as I have now done, until within twenty-five or thirty years; but these are the facts.

A law by which only church-members could vote was in operation in Massachusetts from 1631 to 1688, in form, and much longer in spirit.

The political and social pressure arising from that law led to the adoption of the half-way covenant, by which persons not professing to have entered on a new life at all were allowed to enter the Church.

Out of that pressure arose Stoddard's evil plea, that unconverted persons should be brought to the communion service.

Out of all these causes came an unconverted church-membership.

Out of that came gradually an unconverted ministry.

Out of that came a broad departure from many points of the lofty and scientifically severe ideals of Plymouth Rock.

Out of that departure arose, in experience, a wide and deep secularization of the more fashionable of the churches of Eastern Massachusetts.

Out of this secularization of the churches of Eastern Massachusetts came their chief weakness in their resistance to the irreligious influences arising from the French war and the Revolution, and to the accession of the French infidelity at the moment when Lafayette and French liberty had bent the national soul toward France.

What does Joseph Tracy say in his "History of the Great Awakening"? I open that most cautious book on the whole topic; and I read, "Every Congregational Church in New England, probably, has either adopted Edwards's and Whitefield's doctrine concerning church-membership, or become Unitarian." (See pp. 411–413, 418.)

Americans have all sorts of sense, except historic sense. We have had a State Church; we have had a secularized church-membership in one of our denominations, the ruling one; and little by little that secularization so lowered our standards, that it is not amazing at all, and it is a thing we ought to have expected, that out of the combination of causes included in the older Arminianism, the half-way covenant, the disturbances of the French war and the Revolution, French infidelity, the popular misconcep-

tions of scholarly Orthodox doctrine, and some crude and rash statements in Orthodoxy itself, came Unitarianism.

Out of Unitarianism, and the brilliancy of its early literary and secular successes, came Harvard University in its largely unevangelical attitude, — an attitude now greatly changed.

Out of Harvard University, in its unevangelical attitude, came the occasionally sceptical or doctrinally indifferent literary circles of Eastern Massachusetts.

Out of the sceptical literary circles of Eastern Massachusetts came one part of the influences that set a portion, though only a portion, of the Boston fashions of thought.

Here we are face to face with an age when anti-slavery was taken up by your eloquent Parker, and the Church lagged behind. This was its own fault. Time has criticised that slowness on the part of Orthodoxy to follow Providence, that tardiness which left between the Church and God a chasm which is filled up, in great part, with the corpses of my own generation. You will allow me, as a member of a decimated generation, to be frank concerning the slowness of Orthodoxy to follow God, until he whom we dare not name plainly became abolitionist. Parker followed him, and obtained a following. This is the outcome of a single historical glance; but if I could have gone into detail, if I could have shown you how link has followed link, you would be amazed to find Boston to-day not wreathed round and round with misconceptions of the highest truth; and that

religion here, which has allowed itself to be corrupted so much in the past, is to-day so little corrupted. Omitting fractions, the statistics show, that, in 1816, there was one unevangelical church in Boston to every three thousand of the population. Now there is only one to every six thousand. In 1816 there was only one evangelical church in Boston to every four thousand inhabitants. Now there is one to every two thousand. In the experience of half a century, a period long enough to constitute a very fair test of the tendencies of thought, and exhibiting the results of no mere temporary swirl of opinion, evangelical churches in Boston have risen from the proportion of one to four thousand to that of one to two thousand, and the unevangelical of all kinds have fallen off from the proportion of one to three thousand to that of one to six thousand. Very significant on the dial of Boston, with this past behind us, is the declining shadow of that philosophy, which, in a dim morning of religious experience, sees Olympus and Parnassus, and mistakes them for Sinai and Calvary.

Orthodoxy has not always followed God; but only so far as it follows him will it ultimately have any following. *Deum sequi*, to follow God, was Seneca's supreme rule for political action. Our painful past summarizes its eager councils by writing these Roman words over all doors of church and school, social life, literature, and reform.

X.

THEODORE PARKER AS AN ANTISLAVERY REFORMER.

SEVENTY-NINTH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE MAY 21.

"Windes Rauschen, Gottes Flügel,
Tief in kühler Waldesnacht,
Wie der Held in Rosses Bügel,
Schwingt sich des Gedankens Macht.
Wie die alten Tannen sausen,
Hört man Geistes Wogen brausen."

Schlegel.

"When a deed is done for freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west;
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
Of a century bursts, full-blossomed, on the thorny stem of Time."

Lowell.

X.

THEODORE PARKER AS AN ANTI-SLAVERY REFORMER.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

WILL it not be well for the fertile lands on the Danube to escape from under the light of the Crescent? In four hundred years, beneath that peculiar radiance, have they grown fatter, or leaner? Where are the great fruits of Turkish finance, politics, literature, law, philosophy, religion, and social life? It was well for Servia, it was advantageous for Egypt, it was fortunate for Greece, to break or loosen the Turkish yoke. Our stern world, up to this miraculous hour, is governed by the law of the survival of the fittest. There are renowned Mussulman proverbs, which assert that the Turkish hoof always leaves behind it barrenness. These ancient sayings are not contradicted by the Turkish bankruptcy of to-day. Which ought we to fear the more for the Danube, — the tread of the blighting Turkish hoof, or that of the relentless icy paw of the Russian bear? Each of these feet deserves a tether. On which side ought American sympathies to lie in the Eastern war?

British sympathies are divided; but American sympathies ought to be cooler at this distance than the British can be. Nevertheless, since American missionaries, whom Lord Shaftsbury calls the most remarkable men in the East, have planted the Cross on the Bosphorus, we have an interest, as Christian citizens of the world, in the question whether Russia, or Turkey, or the Great Powers of Europe, shall rule these fair borders of the Black Sea.

What has polygamy done for Turkish society? I looked once five days through Constantinople, to find among polyamists, a single fresh face over forty years of age, and looked in vain. The unreportable vices of the East not infrequently have to be guarded against in Roberts College. The son of an English physician who followed Lord Byron to Greece, and who became one of the foremost medical advisers of the court at Constantinople, told me, that his father would never let him go to the public baths alone. You would drive me out at that door, if I were to tell you what more he said. Which is the worse, — Russian absolutism, or Mohammedan polygamy and its attendant vices? What Carlyle calls the unspeakable Turk is not seen in Constantinople as well as he can be in the interior of Turkey or Syria.

I remember how like a Corliss Engine Russian absolutism is, and what Russia did in 1846 in driving all missionaries from her borders. I know, also, that 1846 is not 1876; and that, even if Russia should have right of way through the Bosphorus, it is

not altogether certain that our missions are to be put down there. One of the leading statesmen who helped settle the treaty of peace after the Crimean war told one of the most honored merchants of this city, in the gallery of the House of Commons, that, in the conference preceding the making of that treaty, Russia explicitly and uniformly, and with great detail, promised to give all the guaranties that the Christian powers of the West should desire, if only she could have the right of way through the Bosphorus. We have exaggerated, I fear, the danger to missionaries, in case Russia should drive the Turks out of Europe. Right of way through the Bosphorus is not possession of Constantinople. Entire control of that city, Russia will not obtain as easily as she burned Moscow.

It is affirmed that Turkey is now making reforms which she cannot carry through, without violating the Koran. The subtlest thing said in favor of sympathy with Turkey is, "Let Islam be allowed to commit suicide. Let Turkey stand, that Islam may fall." Her reforms in the past have been chiefly on paper. Her promises of reform are worth nothing among bankers or statesmen. But what if she be driven back to her deserts? What if she lose Constantinople, as she has practically lost Cairo? Will this not be a more effective lessening of the powers and prestige of Mohammedanism in the world than could come from her reforms, which may never come? But, even if Turkey could glorify herself on the Danube politically and industrially, would she not aid

Mohammedanism far more by her commercial importance and political weight than she will injure it by violating a few tenets of her creed in her political changes?

It is my purpose, however, to insist simply on the fact of experience, that it has been well for some portion of the glowing East to escape from under the Turkish yoke; and that, therefore, if we are to be guided by the light of experience, we must hope that Providence means to limit more and more the power of Mohammedanism, and, indeed, so to limit it, that by and by it shall itself see its own natural tendencies to decay, and in its deserts and its wildernesses be healed of its sickness by a rebound from its own leprosies. God grant that this may be the result of driving Islam back to her fastnesses!

What has happened in Greece since she was liberated from Turkey?

Forty years ago, not a book could be bought at Athens. To-day one in eighteen of the whole population of Greece is in school. Fifty years of independence, and the Hellenic spirit has doubled the population of Greece, increased her revenues five hundred per cent, extended telegraphic communication over the kingdom, enlarged the fleet from four hundred and forty to five thousand vessels, opened eight ports, founded eleven new cities, restored forty ruined towns, changed Athens from a hamlet of hovels to a city of sixty thousand inhabitants, and planted there a royal palace, a legislative chamber, six type-foundries, forty printing-establishments, twenty news-

papers, an astronomical observatory, and a university with fifty professors and twelve hundred students. [Applause.] King Otho's German court, when he came from Nauplia to Athens, in 1835, lived at first in a shed that kept out neither the rain nor the north wind. On Constitution Place in Athens, in 1843, the Hellenic spirit, without violence, and by the display of force for but a few hours, substituted for personal power in Greece a constitutional government as free as that of England. George Finlay, the historian of the Greek Revolution, and who fought in it, affirms, that even before that event, degraded as the people were politically, a larger proportion could read and write than among any other Christian race in Europe. Undoubtedly long bondage, acting on the native adroitness of the race, taught the Greeks disingenuousness. The old blood produced an Alcibiades as well as a Socrates, a Cleon as well as a Phocion. There was in it, as in American veins to-day, a tendency to social, commercial, and political sharp-dealing. But, after fifty years of independence, the Hellenic spirit devotes a larger percentage of public revenue to purposes of instruction than France, Italy, England, Germany, or even the United States. Modern Greece, fifty years ago a slave and a beggar, to-day, by the confession of the most merciless statisticians, its enemies, stands at the head of the list of self-educated nations.

Railways, as even the less sanguine at Athens now hope, must, at no very distant period, cut the Isthmus of Corinth, and the green, fat Bœotian Plain.

They will bring the Western Patras and the Northern Larissa into communication with Athens. Possibly the Piræus, or Cape Sunium, and not Brindisi, may one day become the point of departure from Europe, of mails to the East from London, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. Greece desires to connect a Larissa railway with a Turkish railway, soon to pierce the iron gates of the Danube.

If there is to be a reconstruction of the Turkish territory, shall not Greece recover her Macedonian provinces? Ten thousand people assembled lately in the Pnyx at Athens, before the Bema of Demosthenes, to consider that question. (See GLADSTONE, "The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Question," *Contemporary Review*, December, 1876.)

William Pitt said, in 1792, that the true doctrine of the balance of power in the east of Europe was, that the influence of Russia should not be allowed to increase, nor that of Turkey to decline. Wellington called the confirmation of Greek independence by the victory of Navarino an untoward event. Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, however, whose deaths were as sincerely mourned in Greece as in America, hailed that battle as the triumph of a sister-people in a struggle which the United States were the first among nations to encourage officially.

George Canning hoped, and Athens has not ceased to dream, that a regenerated Greece might, from Athens and Constantinople, regenerate all the now subject Greek races on both shores of the Ægean. Of the fifteen million of the population of European

Turkey, less than four millions are Ottomans. The rest — Slavonians, Greeks, Wallachians, Albanians — profess the Greek religion, or speak the Greek dialect. Demosthenes, Miltiades, Themistocles, it may be presumed, would adopt the Hellenic idea, were they now in Greece. But, as a late American ambassador at Athens affirms, these men are remembered by the modern Greek as if they were yesterday on the Acropolis. In polyglot Turkey there are peoples, but no people. To-day it is calculated, that, counting by individuals, the Greeks in European Turkey are to the Turks as six to one; but, estimating them by their wealth, they are as thirty to one. In view of these facts, and with the clash of Russian arms on the Danube, shall we not renew our enthusiasm for Greece? [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

In the first century of its existence our nation has twice been washed in blood; and to-day we draw nigh to that anniversary on which, through an extent of territory broader than Cæsar ever ruled over, you will decorate uncounted graves, a great proportion of which are filled by men of my generation. Look on the marbles, which, before this month closes, you will cover with spring flowers, and you will find that a very large part of those who laid down their lives in the civil war were men between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age. My generation in America is and always will be a remnant. Such of us as are left must be excused if we remember that it is not

long, at the longest, from now to the roll-call after the battle; and that very soon we shall see those who have already laid down their lives that the dolorous and accursed ages might a little change their course. Assembled at the very tombstones we are about to decorate, will you not allow me to say, that, if the Church had done its whole duty in the fifty years preceding the time in which our land was bathed in blood, my generation might not have been a fragment? for that moral apathy in the North which allowed the South to hope for a divided North would not have existed; and, had the South not had that hope, who knows that she would have dared to have assailed the Union in arms? Had every pulpit in the land done what a few pulpits did, — and what all would have done, had they not lost the Master's whip of small cords, twice knotted up in the temple of old, but almost forgotten in a luxurious age, — there might have been no need at last for Almighty Providence to seize the North by the nape of the neck, and throw it across a chasm filled with corpses to the firm land of justice. [Applause.]

It was Almighty God who abolished slavery. The Church to-day, at the edge of these martyrs' graves, must beware of two things, — pride in what God has accomplished, and a tendency to self-excuse for not having used her Master's whip of small cords. That whip will be needed yet in America. It must not go out of fashion on this continent. There is a long, crowded, seething future before us in this land. Having twice been washed in blood against our

anticipation, is it fit for us, now that we are at peace again, and now that the subtle sorcery of luxury has come to us once more out of the death of our martyrs, to forget them, and to forget God, and make unfashionable even yet our Lord's example of purging the temple? Why, you could excuse me better for being too severe to-day than for being an apologist for public immorality. We want as our leader not some soft person brought up in king's palaces, and afraid of the shaking of a reed. We want Him who twice, with indignation upon which men dared not look, purged the temple, saying, — as he said lately to America, in accents with which the awe-struck air ought to be made permanently alive, and as he will have occasion to say again and again before another thousand years shall have wheeled and burned above our good and evil, — "Take these things hence!" On the side of that Eternal Power not ourselves, which makes for righteousness, America was not a unit; and therefore she fell for a while beneath those high and flaming chariot-wheels which move evermore in universal history whithersoever Justice wills. There is a prospect that America may not be a unit in time to come in loving what that Power loves, and in hating what it hates; and therefore there is reason for remembering our past, and sowing in the fat, ploughed field of our bitter days, and in all the great and yet smoking furrows of our chastisement, abundant seed of conscience. This is a good time to speak a solemn word, that may take root, and bring forth fruit in politics, in trade and in every man's secret moral sense. [Applause.]

What could the Church have done against slavery that it did not do?

1. It could have made slaveholding a bar to church-membership.

One great denomination did that, — great in quality, not in quantity — the Quakers. It was their good-fortune to have established a right precedent as to slavery before the Cave of Æolus was opened, and the winds of all division began to blow upon us from unoccupied territory coveted by the slave-power.

Eli Whitney, in 1794, invented the cotton-gin. The British fleet, in 1803, hovered off the mouth of the Mississippi, and Napoleon Bonaparte sold to us Louisiana. With that purchase the Cave of Æolus, who imprisons tempests within his bellowing mountains, was opened. When the winds had blown out of it until it was substantially vacant, unexpectedly in the depths of the cave opened another Æolus Cave, — Texas. After the winds blowing out of that had tossed our whole ocean into yeasting, yellow foam, suddenly, in the rear of that Æolus Cave, opened another, — California and the Mexican war. Then came a yet more huge enlargement of the cave, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the Kansas and Nebraska struggle. We saw the gleaming of the western sea through the last opening of the cavern. God be thanked that the bowels of the mountains were exhausted at last, and that we had no more unoccupied territory! To this fully opened colossal prison-house of winds we found no door that could be bolted, except one made of corpses. We

had to block it up at last, the whole mouth of our unmeasured Æolus Cavern, by the dead bodies of North and South. It is blocked to this day by that immovable and costly mound.

Now, before this Æolus Cave was opened, before the cotton-gin had lifted the value of a slave-hand to a thousand dollars, and of a black infant at birth to one hundred dollars, we find the Quaker sect putting itself right by assuming that a man cannot be a church-member of the genuine kind, if he owns slaves. George Fox visited the Barbadoes in 1671, and thereafter bore earnest testimony against slavery. In 1776 the Philadelphia meeting of Quakers took a decisive step by directing — this was their language — "that the owners of slaves who refuse to execute the proper instruments for giving them their freedom be disowned," that is, disfellowshipped in the Church. In 1783 it was officially ascertained that no slaves were owned by Quakers inside the domain of the Philadelphia Assembly. But the New-York and Rhode-Island and Virginia Yearly Meetings of the Friends attained slowly the same results. In 1800, before we purchased Louisiana, slavery and Quakerism were fully divided. What cut them asunder? Simply the righteous rule of a spiritual church-membership, — the rule to which we have been drifting, I hope, more and more in America, in all our sad experience since 1631.

Wordsworth, in spite of the intensity of his early sympathy with republicanism, was accustomed to say that America never can have a class pure enough and

weighty enough to keep up a high standard of manners and morals; for here we have no aristocracy. Stuart Mill thought it our great fault that we have no leisured and propertied class. God forbid that we should have a law of primogeniture, giving all the lands in a family to the eldest-born! God forbid that we should have an aristocracy built on hereditary descent merely, or on artificial rather than a natural rank! But unless there is in this land a spiritual church-membership, or an aristocracy appointed of Almighty God, who knows but that Wordsworth was right in saying that our standard of morals and manners may become of the earth, earthy, and lead to the Pit? "Men never so much need to be theocratic," said De Tocqueville, "as when they are the most democratic." I hold that it is more important to maintain a spiritual church-membership than to maintain the written constitution. [Applause.] The unwritten constitution of America is more important than its written; and the first article in the unwritten ought to be one that makes a distinction between a true church and its opposite. What is the average type of a counterfeit church? A hammock, attached on one side to the Cross, and, on the other, held and swung to and fro by the forefingers of Mammon, its freight of nominal Christians elegantly moaning meanwhile over the evils of the times, and not at ease, unless fanned by eloquence and music, and sprinkled by social adulations into perfumed, unheroic slumber.

There is a distinction between a church and a

Sunday club, — the distinction which Whitefield and Edwards drew on the mind of New England, and which the remissness of many churches, and the faithfulness of others, in our civil war, ought to engrave yet deeper on the slowly solidifying rock of American social custom. Let that distinction stand as the first article of your unwritten constitution, if you would make sure that a day will not come when an average population of two hundred to the square mile may take your written constitution, and chop it in pieces in the name of greed and fraud, and of great cities. You do not in any case anticipate that? Your trouble is that you are Anglo-Saxon, and always think there is no danger, until you are burned to the bone. We said there was no danger in the war-cloud of slavery; but really it amounted to more than a shower.

The Quaker sect put itself right by honoring the first article of the unwritten American Constitution. They executed it. They made a distinction between church-membership that held slaves, and church-membership that did not. If you ask me what the Church at large could have done, I affirm that it could, little by little, have done everywhere what it did in several places. Toward the close of the last century, England, under distinctively Christian leadership, determined unalterably her position as to slavery. It was the supreme misfortune of America, that she did not keep step with Wilberforce and Clarkson and the father of Macaulay. When the Quakers established their suggestive precedent, we might have done the same, had not

many of our fathers been asleep. Why they were off their guard, you will understand by a glance at what the demoralizations of war and of French infidelity were doing for us in 1795. The cotton-gin came when we were weak from Parisian poison. The Æolus Cave of coveted territory was opened when we were feeble from a long course of unfortunate experiences, beginning in 1631. But, even after temptation grew fierce, who, with the history of subsequent American heroism before him, can say that we could not have taken up our cross, instead of trampling upon it? We could have stood on the proposition that church-membership is inconsistent with man-stealing; and, indeed, there is where the Presbyterian Assembly stood in 1793.

2. We could have acted on the fixed plan, not of adapting Christianity to slavery, but of adapting slavery to Christianity.

Say that the rule adopted by the Friends was too radical a measure; say that we could not have strained up the North to this point: one hardly knows what prolonged, multiplex, conscientious discussion can do in a free nation. My feeling is, that the Quaker ideal was not too high for most of us to have reached by effort in 1800. It is farther back to 1850 than it is to 1800 in the history of slavery. Even in the era of compromises, we could at least have settled on the principle, that, when Christianity comes into collision with wrong, evil, and not Christianity, is to compromise. There will be a time in America when the expedients of our fathers in regard to

slavery will not look well. It will not be remembered with pleasure that the Presbyterian General Assembly, although in 1794 it denounced slaveholding as man-stealing, erased that denunciation in the General Assembly of 1816. I know that Methodist discipline could with great difficulty be reconciled with slavery, and that it was never made clear to any Methodist scholar that bishops could be permitted to hold slaves. Macaulay said that John Wesley's genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu. But, in spite of the excellence of the Methodist organization, slavery produced the secession of the Methodist Church South, — a great evil, and yet an honor to the North. But the Church South was part of the Church; and when I speak of the delinquency of the Church, of course I have an outlook extending to the Gulf. I am not here to-day to blame the Northern Church exclusively. The Southern Church was a part of God's house; and its action before and during the war has helped to make sceptics. It is a cruel and terrible thing to force educated young men to raise the question, whether the manliness inside of the Church is of a purer quality than that outside. There are forms of scepticism concerning the First and Second Epistles of Clement, and the Letter by Diognetus to the Pamphylians. I do not care greatly about this kind of mental unrest. But when the question arises, whether manliness is to be found inside or outside of God's house, remember that the first duty of the Church is to be despised by no man! [Applause.] And if we so acted, that

many a young man, full of that enthusiasm which afterwards led him to the front at Gettysburg and Richmond, did not know by any light on our countenances whether we were more manly than our critics or not; if we so acted that some were sickened, and turned aside, — it was because we compromised.

It was my fortune but a few days ago to hear the poet Whittier say, in that sea-blown city of Newburyport yonder, where the roof yet stands under which William Lloyd Garrison was born, that Mr. Garrison himself, in his earlier career, was a friend of ministers, and, indeed, might have been called, perhaps, a Calvinist of the strict type. He believed too much in ministers; he made them idols; and when his sympathies were penetratingly enlisted in one of the greatest of modern reforms, and he found that many ministers were not on his side, the instant and surprised recoil was of that intense sort which comes when we fall into anger with those we love. Again and again a similar amazement was the source of the vigor and the breadth of the recoil from accredited Christianity in many of the antislavery men. Henry C. Wright was a Congregational minister. There were subsidiary men; and some of them, I think, were deformers as well as reformers, — Parker Pillsbury, and S. S. Foster, and others. Within the circle of a hundred miles' radius from Boston you can find hundreds of influential citizens, and at least a score of divided or weakened churches, whose difficulties with the ministers began, as Garrison's did, by the operation of that principle which Coleridge describes in his "Christabel:" —

"Alas! they had been friends in youth;
But whispering tongues can poison truth,
And constancy lives in realms above;
And life is thorny, and youth is vain;
And to be wroth with one we love
Doth work like madness on the brain."

3. In the South the Church could have refused to justify, and in the North to apologize for, slavery.

4. In the South it could have refused to uphold secession and the attempt to found an empire on human chattelhood.

5. In the North, by discussion and united action, it could have prevented that moral and political apathy which encouraged the South to hope for a divided North in the event of war.

6. It could have taken away power from deformers by putting itself on the side of reformers.

So much, my friends, must we not and do we not all admit, when we say that the Northern Church, as well as the Southern Church, or the American Church at large, did not do its whole duty in the conflict with slavery?

Are there any excuses for the crime of the North? I will make none for that of the South; and I am not at ease in mentioning any for the North. [Applause.] These are no excuses; they are hardly explanations:

1. Daniel Webster was the archbishop of the Northern Church. [Applause.]

2. Among antislavery men deformers were sadly mingled with reformers. About 1839 Mr. Garrison,

for a considerable period, united anti-Church and anti-Sabbath with his antislavery discussions. Some of the more radical abolitionists were avowedly secessionists; but it was political abolition which triumphed.

3. Political abolition the North had no right to apply to slavery in the States, except as an extreme measure. Almost unanimously the Northern Church resisted the extension of slavery into the Territories.

4. A conflict of political and commercial interests and duties on the one hand, with religious interests and duties on the other, strained the voluntary system of the American churches across its weakest part.

Evil exceedingly, my friends, is that day in any nation when political and religious interests run in opposite channels. These opposing currents make the whirlpool that impales faith on the tusks of the sea. When Chevalier Bunsen lay dying, he said, "God be thanked that Italy is free. Now thirty millions of people can believe that God governs the world." The average German peasant, twenty years ago, regarded his minister as merely an agent of the government, and spoke contemptuously of police Christianity, because the State Church in the fatherland was, until within a few years, very frequently an ally of absolutism. In the United States, while the compromise measures were under debate, political ideas ran in one direction, and religious duties in another. The immense interests of commerce often held the pulpit, as well as the press, in bondage.

The payment of Southern debts — have you ever heard that theme discussed in whispers? Webster had his eyes constantly on Wall Street. Wendell Phillips would stand here in Boston, with his eyes on the conscience of the nation, a very different barometer; and he would say, "There is a storm singing already in all the winds. We shall escape from slavery only by civil war." Webster would reply, looking at the citations in Wall Street, "There has not yet been any large fluctuation in prices. Gentlemen are not serious when they talk of secession. Let us repress agitation, and tide through the crisis without war." Both the moral and the financial barometer must be kept in view by any eyes that would read the signs of modern times. In the rising price of slave-property we had a thermometer of threatening aspect, on which the North cast a too careless gaze. A hundred dollars for a black infant, ten dollars a pound for a black boy, a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars for a good field-hand, — and still this thermometer and the wailing breeze rose, and the winds out of the Æolus Cave resounded more and more loudly; the murky threat of coming war hung above all business and bosoms; and yet so were we filled with Anglo-Saxon pride, so little foresight did we have, that Wall Street was hardly troubled up to the very hour when we could no longer doubt that there was to be a deluge of blood.

Webster hoped we should pass through the crisis without civil war, and could hardly have made more gigantic efforts to have averted the contest, had he

foreseen what was to come, as probably he did, far better than some have thought. I know with what silence I should sit in this assembly, were any one of five hundred scholars here the speaker; I should be quiet in this presence. But it is my good or ill fortune here to be responsible to nobody, as no one is to me; and therefore let me say, that my personal feeling is, that Webster, from first to last, was honest, and that he ventured much, because he had great foresight. I believe that man anticipated, with a fulness we can but poorly understand from any of his public expressions, the terrors of our civil war. Judge Nesmyth, on the Merrimack yonder, at Franklin, who conversed over and over with Webster in his last years, on his Speech of March 7, and who is often quoted in Curtis's Life of Webster, as final authority, said to me the other day, "Once at Elms Farm I was returning home in the sunset with Webster; and he turned upon me suddenly, and, in his deepest supernatural voice, said, 'You may regard me as extravagant; but I have had some experience with both Northern and Southern men. I probably shall not live to see the Potomac run red with blood; but I think you will.'" That was within six months of the time when, on the shore of the sea at Marshfield yonder, that man went hence. No doubt he was ambitious; but he was too great a man to be supremely ambitious. In secret, as well as in public, he prayed, that, when his eyes should be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, they might not see him shining on the broken and dis-

honored fragments of a once glorious Union, — on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent. He foresaw what this land would look like, drenched in Gettysburgs and Richmonds. But he was taken hence before he had time to right himself in the public estimation. No doubt he went to extremes. He was a statesman. He probably had not a sufficiently active perception of the moral issues in the whole discussion of his time. Who was it that wrote to Andover to ask Moses Stuart to publish a pamphlet to befog the conscience of the North? Daniel Webster. (See STUART, *Conscience and the Constitution*, p. 18.) Did Moses Stuart do this? He did it so far as to defend vigorously the Speech of March 7. He wrote some other things, however, which we hope will counteract the ill-effect of this pamphlet. To whom else did Webster afford an opportunity to befog the conscience of the North? To that other professor, who to-day is perhaps the first theologian visible in America when scholars in Europe look toward us from the other side of the Atlantic. Did he agree to do what Webster asked? He refused with foresight. Professor Park had opportunity to do what Moses Stuart did, and at that time was ready to defy the archbishop of the Northern Church. [Applause.] That fact never has been made public until this hour; but it lies here before me in writing, not from any professor, but from a man whose authority is equal on that point to any professor's. (*Letter from* Rev. Dr. C. CUSHING of Boston.) Professor Edwards at Andover had opportunity to do what Moses Stuart did, and refused.

But how did Boston stand in that hour? Why, in Music Hall yonder was the tallest antislavery pulpit this side of Brooklyn. What made that pulpit tall, — anti-Christianity, or antislavery? Let Charles Sumner answer. Here is a short, strategic correspondence which throws light upon the inmost history of Boston. In 1854 Theodore Parker was arrested for resisting the Fugitive-slave Law, and came near being thrown into jail, as did Wendell Phillips. Charles Sumner wrote to Mr. Parker Dec. 12, 1854: "Upon the whole, I regard your indictment as a call to a new parish, with B. R. Curtis and B. F. Hallet as deacons, and a pulpit higher than the Strasburg steeple." Theodore Parker replied, Dec. 15: "In 1845 my friends passed a resolution that Theodore Parker should have a chance to be heard in Boston. The two brothers-*in-law*, Benjamin C. and Benjamin H., now second the resolution, — a chance to be heard! (Weiss, *Life of Parker*, vol. ii. p. 144.)

You say I have not given Theodore Parker all the credit he deserves as a religious reformer? You think I have underrated him as a philosopher? If you please, I give you his own estimate of himself. "Last year," he wrote in 1851, "I laid out much; but how little of it I did! The wicked Fugitive-slave Law came, and hindered all my work. It may be so again. Suppose I could have given all the attention to theology that I have been forced to pay to politics and slavery, how much I might have done! I was meant for a philosopher; but the times call for a stump orator" (Weiss, *Life of Parker*, vol. ii. p. 115).

What made that pulpit busy, — antislavery, or anti-Christianity? In the year 1851 a publishing firm to whom Theodore Parker had offered two volumes of speeches asked him if they would contain any discussions relating to slavery. He replied, "By all means: they are the principal things. I wish to go down to posterity, as far as I shall go at all, with the antislavery sermons and speeches in my right hand." [Applause.] (Ibid., p. 115.) Boston sends Theodore Parker to posterity with his antislavery speeches in his right hand, and no hurricane of criticism shall ever blow them out of his manly grasp: but in his left hand anti-Christianity was clutched loosely; and already the winds have torn these leaves away, and the hand is nearly empty, and will yet be emptier. [Applause.]

This biography says that Mr. Parker thought, in the early stage of his discussions of religious science, that he could complete in ten years a projected book on that theme. Compared with average German work in the same field, the outlines of this volume (Ibid., pp. 49–67) are fragmentary and careless, and are plainly what Parker called them, only a "provisional scheme." Did he ever fill up these outlines? Mr. Weiss admits that he was too pre-occupied to do so. "Time," says this candid biographer, "diminished rapidly; *and all literary and scientific pursuits were rudely thrust aside by the domination of slavery in the thoughts and affairs of the nation*" (Ibid., p. 67). It needs to be frequently stated, that Theodore Parker's Absolute Religion was a system

of thought which he arranged before he came to Boston. It was a West Roxbury creed. Boston need not be so proud of it. It was not built here. If it had been, no doubt it would have lasted.

What was happening when Theodore Parker came to Boston, and in the twelve years he passed here? Why, he reached this city in 1846; and what year was that? The year after Texas had been acquired, and the winds were howling for the Mexican war. We remember these great events so poorly, that it is necessary to call your attention to the fact, that, in 1845, Henry Clay was defeated; and his competitor, Mr. Polk — whose name I had almost forgotten: I have it written here, but I could not see it well, it is so small — began to defend Texas against Mexico. In 1846 came the Mexican war. How could a man think of any thing but public affairs? In 1846 Frémont captured California. In 1848 the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo gave New Mexico and California to the United States. In 1850 came the compromise measures, including the law for the rendition of fugitive slaves. In 1852 Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin appears in March; and the Duchess of Sutherland in November sends to the women of America an address signed by 576,000 English women. In 1854 Anthony Burns is kidnapped in Boston. In 1855 election riots are occurring in Kansas. In 1856, on the 2d of May, Charles Sumner is smitten down in the Senate of the nation for speaking against slavery. In 1856 Fremont is nominated, and Buchanan elected. In 1857 we are listening to the Dred

Scott decision. In 1858 John Brown is plotting the deeds which brought him to the scaffold in Virginia.

During all these years the grandson of that soldier who captured the first British gun at Lexington stood in a pulpit which antislavery, rather than anti-Christianity, had made higher than the Strasburg steeple. Who agreed with him? Except a few harsh expressions, almost everybody that had conscience, so far as his antislavery opinions were concerned. Did every one who agreed with Theodore Parker in his antislavery career agree with him in his anti-Christian discussions? Here is an answer in a letter to Mr. Parker from him who afterwards was our great chief justice, — Salmon P. Chase. [Applause.] "Shall I not say to you frankly how much I regret, that, on the great question of the Divine origin of the Bible and the Divine nature of Christ, your views are so little in harmony with the views of *almost all* who labor with you in the great cause of human enfranchisement and progress; and that I could not help wishing, that, in this sermon on the Nebraska Question, your distinctive opinions had not been brought forward?" (WEISS, *Life of Parker*, vol. ii. p. 517.) This is very interesting and unimpeachable historic testimony.

What made this antislavery pulpit high? The lowness of other pulpits. [Applause.] Why were not other pulpits high in Boston? Some of them faced the South. Let me not be unjust to any man; but I suppose the undistorted truth to be, that Orthodoxy lacked antislavery leaders. Its ranks and

files, at least so far as the ministry was concerned, were substantially right in their feeling toward slavery. Do you doubt that? I have been at great pains to examine facts and contemporary evidence; and I find it incontrovertible, though I cannot here go into detail, that, in the year 1837, nearly one-half of the evangelical ministers in Massachusetts were members of antislavery societies. Of the Orthodox Congregational ministry of Massachusetts, more than one-third were members of anti-slavery societies in 1837. It was true in this year that only one in eight of the unevangelical ministers in Massachusetts were in such societies. Such was the elaborate calculation made and published at the time by Amos A. Phelps, whom, as the foremost Christian abolitionist of that vexed day, Massachusetts does well to honor. (See PHELPS, Rev. A. A., *The True History of the Late Division in the Antislavery Societies.* Compare the careful statistics given by Dr. CUSHING in the *Congregational Quarterly*, October, 1876, pp. 550, 554.) I do not forget that the crowned martyrs Lovejoy and Torrey, the latter of whom was buried from this Temple, were Congregational ministers. Under Nathaniel Colver the Baptist, whose church met in this hall, slaveholding was made a bar to church-membership. But during the larger part of that period, when, in the pulpits of Eastern Massachusetts, Channing and Parker, and one or two other very able men, represented prominently the antislavery thought of the time, there was here no evangelical antislavery pulpit of equal prominence.

Nevertheless, I do not admit, that, even with Daniel Webster and Moses Stuart for our archbishops, the mass of the Orthodox ministry went astray further than others; for in 1837 nearly one-half of them were members of antislavery societies.

What, then, was the trouble? Simply the weak spot in our voluntary system. You cannot feed a man, unless he is popular with the people to whom he preaches. Families must be supported. Opportunity of usefulness must not be thrown away. Many lost their places. "I began between 1830 and 1840," says the poet Whittier, "the business of interviewing. I went to minister after minister, and was disappointed in case after case; but the general feeling," he affirms, "was right. It was only a regard for families, and a desire not to produce schism in the Church, that held back many a good man." That sound heart in Amesbury yonder, in sight of the sea, that soul which often led us in our dark days as a pillar of Hebrew fire, that entranced poet and reformer, never broke with the Church, because he was in a part of it that had adopted God's rule of excluding from church-membership those who held slaves. His testimony to-day is other than sour. It has in it no sub-acidity in any sense. He says calmly, "The trouble was usually, that men feared they would lose their places." Who brought that fear upon public teachers? I am a layman; and my feeling is, that laymen had some responsibility in this matter. Our reluctance to allow free discussion arose from commercial causes. More than one merchant here in

Boston may have heard something about Southern debts that might never be paid, and of churches which laymen would surely rend asunder, if slavery were discussed from the pulpit too much. As to slavery, what prevented the full education of the average public heart? The average public heart itself. Some ministers here may have looked from their pulpits, and remembered what merchants were in the congregation, and been silent against their choice. It is possible that industrial, commercial, and social considerations were so powerfully discussed among our laymen as to gag the pulpit not a little. Were *we* one in three in antislavery societies? The pulpit behind the times! Where were the pews? [Applause.]

But, gentlemen, I believe that even that archbishop of the North, had he lived as long as Everett did, would have taken as easily as Everett took a new position as to slavery and the Union. Had Daniel Webster lived to hear the first gun fired against Fort Sumter, and its echoes rolling across belligerent commonwealths, and reverberated from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, he would have stamped his foot down in behalf of the Constitution with an emphasis that would have shaken both those ridges; and to have called forth millions of armed men in defence of the Union there would have been needed no other drum-beat. [Applause.]

XI.

THE SOURCES OF THEODORE PARKER'S ERRORS.

THE EIGHTIETH LECTURE IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN TREMONT TEMPLE MAY [redacted].

"Incidis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim."

Philippe Gaultier.

"In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas."

Melancthon.

XI.

THE SOURCES OF THEODORE PARKER'S ERRORS.

PRELUDE ON CURRENT EVENTS.

Go back to the time when Sir Henry Vane was governor of the Massachusetts Colony, in 1636, and you will find that friend of John Milton advocating at once both toleration and aggressiveness in religion. If his foresight could have been turned into fact, or if his ideas had been transmuted into custom, we might have had at that date just what Berlin saw not long ago, on the grounds where Voltaire and Frederick the Great cried out, "Ecrasez, l'infame!" On those historical terraces of San Souci an Evangelical Alliance came together from the Indus, the Rhine, the Tiber, the Hudson, and the Mississippi. So, too, we saw yonder, at the mouth of the Hudson, in 1873, a similar Alliance, gathered from the five zones, and filled with one enthusiasm. Who knows but that soon at Geneva, or at Rome, a like gathering will occur, representing the ideas of religious union and activity which were current in Boston, so far forth as its governor had influence, in 1636? The

increasing concentration of the strength of the religious bodies of the world is a large, fair sign of hope for civilization. The great mass of evangelical scholarship and life is an unbroken chain extending from the Ural Mountains to our sunset seas, and from our Western shores, through the Pacific Islands, and many a gem of the ocean redeemed to Christianity, far on to the new light that is dawning on Japan and China and India.

When I was on the great pyramid, I looked toward the valley of the Nile, and saw many square brown fields of ripe wheat, many square green fields of growing wheat, many square black fields of ploughed land, many square white fields of blossoming pomegranates. But all the fenceless and hedgeless fields were a part of Egypt; the division between them went no deeper down than a furrow; underneath that, this rich soil was a unit. And so, when I look across the world from any commanding height of scholarship, I find that all these evangelical sects differ from each other only by the depth of a furrow. They are one Egypt, only different squares. [Applause.]

Undoubtedly, however, there is a distinction between the green fat river-bottom of the Nile and the rustling sand of Sahara that lies at its side. It is unsafe to overlook that distinction. Between belief and unbelief, between that style of thought which does, and that which does not, assert man's need of a physician not human, of a regeneration not arising wholly from his own sweet and crooked will,

there must be a distinction made in philosophy, and so there must be in practice. But in Egypt I found that all the distinction that I needed to notice was that between the bed of the Nile and the drifts of Sahara. I will not say where Sahara ends, nor where the Nile valley begins. It is often a puzzling problem to draw that line with justice. Now and then the valley encroaches on the desert; and now and then the desert on the valley. It is a ragged zigzag which separates green Egypt from brown Sahara, belief from unbelief. Nevertheless, you do not doubt that there is a distinction between Sahara and the river-bottom. [Applause.] All men of honesty and candor are glad to have that distinction pointed out. He whom we dare not name undertakes to point it out, and he does so only by the fruitlessness on the one side, and the fat harvest on the other. [Applause.] Let the map traced by his finger be ours. Lessing taught that the most useful religion will ultimately be considered the best.

I have been tracing the history of New England, and showing how many causes for fifty, an hundred, or two hundred years, have made it important for us to insist on the distinction between the river-bottom and the desert, and to draw the line with an engineer's precision. Is there not a danger, that our experience in this protracted period has fixed our thoughts too closely upon mere maps of Egypt; that is, upon merely doctrinal, rather than upon practical Orthodoxy?

It does not plough the Nile plain to map the line

never so accurately between it and Sahara. Sand drifting in here, and the green running out there upon the sand! Who will make Egypt more fruitful by bending forever over the map, and finding just where the sand lies to-day, and where it will not lie to-morrow; and where the green has conquered the sand this hour, and may, in the next, be covered with the drifting brown powder of Sahara? You know that there is this distinction, and that God will take care of it by putting fruit on the one side, and sand on the other. There are locusts in Egypt; and on the fat lands the locusts fall, rather than on Sahara. Your fields are to be judged by their fruits. They are one: there is no distinction between these fat squares. They are all one soil; but we must adopt Lessing's test as to our merit,—fruitfulness, and nothing short of that. We are to attend to the locusts. We are to attend to the smoking furrows of opportunity. We are to attend to the great tides of inundation. We believe in evangelical principles. We believe in Orthodoxy. But religion is more than a map. We are proud of the record of scholarship in the last fifty years, conquering unbelief in Germany, and having to-day more than a promise of conquering all unbelief around the whole globe. But we must plough, sow, and reap Egypt, as well as map it. Our test must be Lessing's. Ultimately, as he said in "Nathan the Wise," all religious societies and principles will be judged by their fruits. By and by, if the world can tell which denomination of religious believers can do the most, if it can ascertain

which sets of ideas match best the deepest instincts of the human heart, and the wants of life and death, the world will know what to believe. [Applause.]

Let us fasten our attention on the inundations of the Nile plain. There do come great opportunities. There do come times when the loss of opportunity is disloyalty to that Providence which yet brings forth a finger on the wall, and yet points out the way, almost miraculously at times, to our poor human sight. The rain does not fall every day; the snow does not descend every hour in the winter. There are times of special refreshing from the Almighty Power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness.

Where are we, my friends, that we think of remitting effort, when two thousand persons came forward lately to unite with the churches on a single Sabbath in this city and its vicinity? Where are those who have lately united with the churches, if our effort is to stop? They ought not to have entered the Church if they are to be idle; and, if they are not to be idle, this movement will not pause. [Applause]. Thousands of new souls, aflame with the first love of Him who is the fulness of all excellence, are coming before our communities; and they, too, will be judged by Lessing's rule. They, too, will be dissected by the scalpel and the microscope of their fruitfulness. If those who claim to have entered upon a new life are not fruitful, they have not yet found the new life; for whatever has life has growth. If there be life and growth in all these scions, shall we not have

other clusters here of peace, good-will to men, absence of all narrow scepticism, and a fulness of devout, thoughtful, aggressive, religious activity? Shall we not have a revival in business following a revival in religion?

Milton was not prodigal of his praises; but, of a governor of Massachusetts, he wrote: —

> "Vane, young in years, but in sage counsels old,
> Than whom a better senator ne'er held
> The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repelled
> The fierce Epirot and the African bold,
> Both spiritual power and civil thou hast learned:
> Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
> In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son."
>
> *Sonnet xvii.*

Charles II. is a great power in history yet. There are successors of him in many a circle of thought, and in many a drifting, sleepy, haughty portion of society. Charles II. took Harry Vane to the scaffold, and chopped off his head. On whose side are we, — that of Harry Vane, or that of Charles II.? I am looking on the whole trend of the current of our history since Henry Vane was here, and on the trend of English history, and on the trend of scholarship throughout the world. We know what brilliant letters there were to uphold Charles II. We know how Cromwell, when he dissolved the Long Parliament, said, "God preserve me from Sir Harry Vane." "Why should we fear death?" asked Vane, the day before his execution. "I find it rather shrinks from me than I from it." "The Lord will be a better father

to you," he said to his children, as he stooped to embrace them. "Be not you troubled; for I am going home to my Father. Suffer any thing from men, rather than sin against God. Ten thousand deaths, rather than defile the chastity of conscience!" From the windows and tops of houses, the people poured out prayers and sobs for him as he passed by to the scaffold; and they shouted aloud, "God go with you!" "Blessed be God," he exclaimed as he bared his neck for the axe, "I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day, and have not deserted the righteous cause for which I suffer!" That cause was civil and religious liberty. It has immeasurable interests yet at stake in the world. Let us take up the great enterprise of our fathers, which is now the hope of the whole planet, — the story of religion transmuted into politics, and not only that, but into literature and science. America is but half republican until she Christianizes not only politics and the schools, but literature and trade, greed and fraud, and even those twin Saharas, — an unscientific Liberalism and a dead Orthodoxy. [Applause.] America will not meet the wishes of its early martyrs until it is brought so close to God's bosom, that the beating of his pulses may be the marching song of all our ages. [Applause.]

THE LECTURE.

There are great changes occurring in New England in the direction of increased individualism in the sentiments of men of moderate education. But the

mass of New-Englanders are persons of moderate education. The healthful audacity of democracy in giving every man a right to act wholly for himself in politics induces the feeling that one man is as good as another at the bar of philosophy, as well as before the courts. We are all equal in the high matters decided by suffrage: why should not all be equal in the high matters decided by scholarship? Man's rights are inalienable, are they not? And do not his rights extend to his intellectual as well as to his political interests? A gulf-current of democracy and individualism is beneath these latest ages; and it is from its tepid breast that many of the vapors arise which temporarily obscure the popular philosophic and religious sky.

A very subtly correct picture of America, and, in some sense, of the middle classes of the England and Scotland of to-day, Alexis de Tocqueville drew in these incisive sentences: —

"Individualism is of democratic origin, and threatens to spread in the same ratio as equality of condition. Aristocracy makes a chain of all the members of the community, from the peasant to the king: democracy breaks that chain, and severs every link of it. As social conditions become more equal, the number of persons increases, who, although they are neither rich nor powerful enough to exercise any great influence over their fellows, have, nevertheless, acquired or retained sufficient education and fortune to satisfy their own wants. They owe nothing to any man; they expect nothing from any man; they acquire the habit of considering themselves as standing alone. Democracy makes every man forget his ancestors, hides his descendants, and separates his contemporaries from him: it throws him back forever upon himself. Individualism is a feeling

which disposes each member of the community to sever himself from the mass of his fellows, and to draw apart with his family and his friends; so that, after he has thus formed a little circle of his own, he willingly leaves society at large to itself." (De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. ii. book ii. chap. 2.)

We have in New England the most intense democracy on the globe; and, even in our highly cultured circles, a tendency exists to an exaggerated and unscientific individualism. Our Emerson himself is not so much pantheistic as he is individualistic, uttering, now excellent Christian truth, and now matter of a pantheistic look. Everywhere he is true to individualism, not everywhere to pantheism. This tendency of democracy will not be a permanent one; but it will appear more and more in the democratic ages, and in the popular quarters of our civilization — until when? Until the day when popular education shall have been elevated high enough to know that man's intellectual rights, while belonging to all individuals, are, perhaps, best defended by a few who have time to attend to the strategy of fortification. In England the political rights of the many have been best defended by the few. But America has learned, that, on the whole, it is best to let all men defend their own political rights. Nevertheless, even here, a few have done the most in that field. We must finally come, in the intellectual range of our lives, to the same rule that we adopt in the political field and in the practical arts; all men shall be free to discuss; all men shall be free to decide; but as, in the political field and in the prac-

tical arts, we do pay attention to the few who can examine matters thoroughly, and have had long experience, so in the intellectual field we will pay attention to a few, after deciding that they are leaders worthy of the name. [Applause.]

Lift the standard of the mass of men high enough to cause them to choose the right kind of leadership in things intellectual and moral, as they now often do in things political and mechanical, and I will show you a public sentiment which will be a Vesuvian lava-front, to tear away and to burn up, once and forever, all that is evil in our civilization. [Applause.] We must elevate public opinion until the masses of men are ripe enough to discern and follow merit. You say I am making a plea for some party. I am making a plea only for scholarship. I am making a plea only against religious quacks. I am making a plea only against haughty sciolism. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing; and our heads are in newspapers and ledgers. The better specimens of our omnipresent newspapers are not as well patronized as the poorer. This will not always be so. When we shall have learned the difference between the better and the best, and refuse to be guided by third-rate authorities in the press, on the platform, or even in the pulpit, we may lift public sentiment at last to an overawing power which will give America her right position, and justify her democracy; and, until we do lift popular opinion thus high by popular education, we shall never justify ourselves before the bar of the nations, nor before the providence of Almighty God. [Applause.]

Theodore Parker appeared in New England at a time when we were all in the sophomore year. Large parts of New England are in their sophomore year and do not know the fact. Much of the rest of the country has not yet come to college. [Applause.] There never was on the globe as large a community of men as now exists in New England, all thinking for themselves, and pushed to a height of haughty sciolism by the law of individualism inhering in democracy. The sophomoric disease is mental unrest mingled with omniscience. We have not begun to learn the evils of such a state of things. We hardly know that it exists. If I were not a flying-scout and outlook committee — this is all I am — for my learned brethren here, going up and down, and conversing with some wise men, I doubt whether I should feel, as I now do, that what threatens us, perhaps, more than any thing else, is precisely what De Tocqueville pointed out in this pervasive individualism. Under democracy men think as they please. We may go to church or not; and, if we choose, we may found a church. Every man can stand alone, and so may, within certain very general bounds, walk as he will. Small circles of individualists know little of each other, and they need know little. Almost their only communication with each other's ideas and sympathies, it may be, is through poor newspapers, published weekly, and very weakly it oftentimes is. Thus we find more and more individualism growing up; for it is yet the law, that to him that hath of American individualism shall be given more and more abundantly.

This mood of the sophomore year dawned on New England at about the time when that great wave of secularization, beginning in 1631, and on the first ripples of which Harry Vane looked with no little concern, had risen to its haughty, turbulent height. About that same time, too, there struck us another wave, narrow, and now largely decadent, — the rationalism of Germany. The two seething seas, in collision, shot aloft above this reef of New England individualism. The reef is there, although the two waves have gone down. There will be more foam over that reef yet.

How did Theodore Parker fall into his errors of speculation?

1. He was in his course of education at a time when a now outgrown and discredited school of rationalism — that of DeWette, Strauss, and Baur — was possessed of great power in Germany.

2. His real teachers were DeWette, whom he translated, and Baur, whom he echoed.

3. His place of education was among Unitarians, themselves much divided by the results of their characteristic negations.

4. The system of thought which afterwards became his absolute religion, he formed while he was yet in the Divinity School, and insufficiently equipped for independent metaphysical speculation.

5. When he was yet a young man his theological opinions were vehemently attacked publicly: he was forced to defend them vehemently; and thus his early crudities became his creed.

6. Absorbed in political and social discussions after his advent to Boston, his distinctively theological and metaphysical scholarship was comparatively little advanced after that period.

7. His nature was impetuously independent by birth, and became more so by the struggles of his public life.

8. He was deficient in the insight of reverence.

9. He was deficient in æsthetic perception.

10. Sympathy came to him in his antislavery efforts only too slowly from the supporters of established creeds.

11. He rarely came into contact with the best representatives of Orthodox scholarship.

12. In a hundred points he misapprehended the nature of Orthodox teaching. He did not adequately distinguish from each other the supernatural and the unnatural, inspiration and illumination, inspiration and dictation, chastisement and punishment, total depravity and total corruption, disarrangedness of soul and unarrangeability, certainty and necessity, belief and faith.

13. His philosophical system was so loose, that he admitted into the list of self-evident truths or intuitions the Divine Existence and the fact of immortality, and made no distinction between intuition and instinct.

14. He died while his philosophical and theological systems were, by his own confession, crude, fragmentary, and provisional.

15. His scheme of thought underrates the signifi

cance of the fact of sin to such a degree as to deny several of the intuitions of conscience, and so by not attending to the whole list of self-evident truths, but only to a part of them, violates the fundamental principle of the scientific method.

When Theodore Parker was in the Divinity School at Cambridge, he one day made reference to "Old Paul." — "Why," said Henry Ware, one of the noblest and acutest men who ever taught in that institution, "you must be more reverent." — "Well," said Parker, "hereafter I will refer to the gentleman from Tarsus." All through his life, this capacity to be rough and ready was with him, and was a great popular power at times; and yet it indicated a certain lack of insight; and that deficiency his different biographers recognize.

There was in him a noble perception of the glory of every thing that had conscience behind it. Theodore Parker seems to me to have had in his nature a majestic chord out of the old Pilgrim harp. The iron strand of the Puritan lyre which Milton and Cromwell, and Hampden and Vane, first struck, lifted up its stern, inspired sound in our civil war in the John Brown Marching Song. That Presbyterian captain! Parker wrote about him from Rome, that he would die "like a saint," and that "from Stephen who was stoned at Jerusalem, to Mary Dyer who was hung on the great tree on Boston Common, there have been few spirits more pure or devoted than this martyr" (Weiss, vol. ii. p. 178). The thrum of that chord we heard side by side with the John Brown

marching choral, and we found no dissonance in the tones. That one note in him we glorify, and desire to have it heard long and far. While the Presbyterian captain stands there in history on the Virginia scaffold against the winter sky, let Theodore Parker's approval of him, and copartnership with him, be remembered. [Applause.]

But this man lacked the deeper insights of æsthetic perception, perhaps, as much as any one who has ever written as copiously as he in Boston. This lack, too, is recognized well by his biographers; but it is only Mr. Frothingham who has been candid enough to admit that it unfitted him, in some particulars, for biblical criticism. When Theodore Parker was in Rome in 1859, he wrote, "I take more interest in a cattle-show than in a picture-show." He then goes on to say, "I love beauty." But he had no sympathy with those who lamented the absence of art in America. "There is not a saw-mill in Rome." That was his principal trouble with the Eternal City. He did not care to read a second time the best poem ever written by Mrs. Browning, Shakspeare's daughter. Now, in some passages of the Scriptures, he found neither a cattle-show nor a saw-mill; and Mr. Frothingham says, "This absence from his mind of the one artistic quality accounts for the something like crudeness that mars occasionally his treatment of the poetical side of ancient religions [Christianity among them, of course], their creeds and their documents. And this even helps to explain certain inaccuracies which sprang from a defect in

æsthetic perception oftener than from infidelity to literal facts" (FROTHINGHAM, *Life of Parker*, pp. 576–578). Dr. Bartol, whose literary perceptions are certainly very sensitive, and often singularly revelatory of truth, wrote years ago of Theodore Parker, "Right or wrong, I could not recognize in him genius poetic" (FROTHINGHAM, *Life of Parker*, p. 579). Mr. Emerson stood up at the commemorative services held for Theodore Parker, and said, "We can hardly ascribe to his mind the poetic element. I found some harshness in his treatment both of Greek and Hebrew antiquity, and sympathized with the pain of many good people in his auditory, whilst I acquitted him, of course, of any wish to be flippant" (Ibid., p. 549). In Parker you meet sinewy English often, and phrases that are like drum-beats; but very frequently the ruggedness and haste degenerate into roughness and uncouthness. You can rarely read ten pages of his writings consecutively, without feeling that there is a lack of grace; that smoothness is absent; and that, on the whole, Lowell was right when he said about this man, that he had —

> "Sophroniscus's son's head o'er the features of Rabelais."
> *Fable for Critics.*

Even in Theodore Parker's best analytical passages, there is often something of that combination, — forceful thought, but badly angular expression. On the topic of slavery we find rough, harsh words, which appear to be, at times, the result of the lack of æsthetic perception, rather than of moral. What

fearful doctrine this is, for instance! — "A man held against his will as a slave has a natural right to *kill* every one who seeks to prevent his enjoyment of liberty. It is the natural duty of the slave to develop this natural right in a practical manner, and actually *kill* all who seek to prevent his enjoyment of liberty. The freeman has a natural right to help the slaves recover that liberty, and, in that enterprise, to do for them all that they have a right to do for themselves" ("Letter from Rome," Nov. 24, 1859. WEISS, *Life*, vol. ii. p. 170). He was a stern iconoclast indeed; and sometimes in his propositions, when great principles were to be brought into the foreground in the analytical method, he cut such a rough wound, that it is hardly wonderful that his sword was hacked by opposition from his own camp, although drawn in a righteous cause. When he attacks Orthodoxy, his weakness is in his extravagance. Here he finds God eminently malignant. His standard accusations cannot be read over a tombstone of any believer, without seeming weak and wicked. In his best book, that on "Theism," he is so full of this irritated, fretted mood, that the only reply needed to his thinking is to point out the fact that it is not thinking, but fretting. On account of his lack of æsthetic perception, he hardly knew how ungraceful all fretting is in a philosopher. Nevertheless, on several sides of his nature, this iconoclast was a copy of his gentle mother; but the father in him predominated.

It is to be remembered, however, that Theodore Parker's chief difficulty, after all, came from his

being brought into New England at a time when a culminating, secularized historic wave seized him, with all his native independence, and of course lifted him to the height of the negations which then were popular. What was happening in Boston when Theodore Parker was in Cambridge as a student? Who were the great men in public life here? What had just come to pass in New England? Why, in 1834, we had the haughty mood of a local movement which regarded itself as embracing the world, because it embraced Beacon Hill and Bunker Hill. I beg everybody's pardon; but it is simply historic accuracy, to notice that some victories have ceased to be victories, for any large extent of territory out of sight of the dome of the State House. Nevertheless, that dome was the centre of much, and more than much, and in Parker's time was recognized as such. It had just been crowned as the centre of New England culture; and the drift of Unitarianism and Universalism was against not a little that deserved to be criticised in popular Orthodoxy, although against very little in scholarly discussions.

Scholarly Orthodoxy has not changed greatly in the last fifty years. Partisan critics perhaps, think that I am not candid concerning Orthodoxy, simply because they forget the distinction between popular and scholarly Orthodoxy. I am not here to defend all the loose phrases that have been used in the pulpits of Eastern Massachusetts in the last hundred years. It is no part of my policy to stand up here for any thing that is not, properly speaking, a por-

tion of scholarly New England theology. The question whether I defend historical Orthodoxy, or accredited Orthodoxy, is a very minor matter compared with the inquiry whether I defend truth. What do I care what historical Orthodoxy is, or what accredited Orthodoxy is? We desire to know what the truth is. [Applause.] The latter question is here always put in the foreground. [Applause.] But I defy most indignantly, in the name of these scholars, who have by their presence done more a thousand times to carry any thought uttered here out on the wings of print than any thing I have done, — I defy indignantly all who would assert that I am not in harmony with accredited Orthodoxy in New England. An authority, than which there is no higher in this city in my denomination, has lately published these words: "The Congregationalists have seven seminaries in this country. When Mr. Cook is charged with deranging Orthodoxy, if it is meant that his teachings are essentially different from those of the Congregational theological seminaries of the land, the charge only shows the ignorance of the one who makes it" (CUSHING, Rev. Dr. C. of Boston, editor of "Congregational Quarterly," *Letter* in "Boston Globe," May 16).

Where is there a man that can show dissonance on any point of importance between what has been taught here and what is to-day called accredited Orthodoxy, and was implicitly if not explicitly accredited Orthodoxy, fifty, eighty, or a hundred years ago? Various changes of phraseology have been

made; but remember, if you will, that in religious science, as in every other, we need a new vocabulary every hundred years. Distinguish vocabularies from ideas, and you will find that the rock on which New England has stood since Henry Vane's time crops out yet, here in Boston; and that the emphases of scholarship are given now to substantially the same eternal truths which brought our fathers to this iron shore. [Applause.]

Besides the billows beating on us in their long roll from 1631, political influences were disaffecting some with Orthodoxy in 1834. Channing and Garrison were leading thought here on antislavery topics when Theodore Parker was yonder in Cambridge as a student, sensitively absorbing such influences as his day could send him. Horace Mann was just beginning his great work for the education of the people. Pierpont, single handed, was fighting the battle against intemperance in the street and for righteousness in the pulpit. "The brilliant genius of Emerson, rising in the winter nights," as Parker himself says, "hung over Boston, drawing the eyes of ingenuous youth and the masses of the people to look up to that great new star, a beauty and a mystery, which charmed for the moment, while it gave also perennial inspiration as it led them forward along new paths and toward new hopes" (WEISS, *Life of Parker*, vol. ii. pp. 458, 459). Spurzheim in 1832, and Combe in 1838, gave lectures here; and we had phrenology on the brain. Brook Farms were in the air — and almost nowhere else! The writings of Wordsworth

and Carlyle and Coleridge and Cousin were new. The German language began to be learned in Boston.

In 1835 what was happening in Germany? Strauss had just risen above the horizon, — a star that shook down terror on many scholarly circles, but which we have seen at last obscured before its setting. The last, and the most important work of Strauss (see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1874), was disowned by average German radicalism, as full of positions that cannot be defended. Did Theodore Parker lean on Strauss? Yes and no. He criticised Strauss. There were many things in that writer which Parker himself could not adopt when he began his career. But open here Parker's last account of himself; and he says, "Young Mr. Strauss, in whom genius for criticism was united with extraordinary learning, and rare facility of philosophic speech, wrote his 'Life of Jesus,' where he rigidly scrutinized the genuineness of the Gospels and the authenticity of their contents, and with scientific calmness brought every statement to his steady scales, weighing it, not always justly, as I think, but impartially always, with philosophical coolness and deliberation" (Weiss, *Life*, vol. ii. p. 459). Strauss taught Parker to undervalue the historical evidences of Christianity, and delivered him to the now discredited school of DeWette and Baur, of whom he was a follower, even after Germany ceased to give them any commanding following. Every scholar knows, that, "as a sect in biblical criticism, the Tübingen school has perished, and that its history has been written in more than one tongue"

(THAYER, PROFESSOR J. HENRY, *Criticism confirmatory of the Gospels*, *Boston Lectures*, pp. 363, 364, 371). But, from about 1835 to 1845, that school had great influence; and Theodore Parker mistook it for the Gulf Current of scholarship, and committed himself to it most enthusiastically and most unfortunately.

The sadly tortured and divided fatherland — Germany is our fatherland, as England is our motherland — had been under the heel of Napoleonic wars. Scratch the Old World in the centre of Europe once, and you find the wars of the first Napoleon; twice, and you find the Thirty-years' war; thrice, and you find the middle ages. Napoleon said, "Scratch a Russian, and you find beneath the surface a Tartar." Scratch Central Germany in its peasant-life three times, and you come upon the age that preceded Charlemagne. Although writing for a sceptical sheet ("The Commonwealth," May 26), an observer distinctly affirmed in Leipzig, lately, that "rationalism makes far less show" — that was the phrase — now in the universities than it did fifty or eighty years ago. That is what Dorner will tell you, and Tholuck and Kahnis, and Schwarz and Christlieb, and all the scholars on both sides in Germany. Little by little Germany has been shaking off Parisian influences. Rationalism speaks to painfully empty benches in the universities, while evangelical lecture-rooms at Leipzig, Halle, and Berlin, are comparatively crowded. Nevertheless, what I affirm now is what I have affirmed everywhere (see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1875, p. 766), — that many of the less religiously

and intellectually cultivated parts of the German population, feel yet the inherited influence of the rationalism outgrown by German specialists in religious science. The average German yonder on the Elbe or Oder when he leaves his fatherland is what he is when he lands here. The decline of rationalism, however, among theological experts in Germany, is a fact as significant as it is indisputable. You will be told triumphantly that the number of theological students is less now in Germany than it was fifty or eighty years ago. That is true. Is this a good sign, or a bad one? You may easily be confused on this point, unless you cast a sharp glance on Germany. What is Germany doing at this moment? She is swinging away from the State Church to the voluntary system in ecclesiastical affairs. What is the result of that? Why, Germany has no abundance of material fit to make deacons of now; and Luther said, in language which I have lying before me, that there was no material in Germany fit to make deacons of in his day. Why was there not? Because Germany had no voluntary church system, and had never educated the mass of her citizens to activity in church affairs. She is doing this slowly now. But superb supporters of churches are not made in an hour. Deacons are poor institutions, you say; but the ability to produce good deacons is a high test of civilization. By the way, some say that I was brought up a narrow Baptist, because my father — whom God bless! — is a Baptist and open communionist. He united with the church when he was forty years of age, and I when I was

fourteen. Who put on the shell? If you please, I was brought up, if any thing, a Universalist, but of the serious type, I hope. Some good seed, I trust, was sown; and, if any good fruit has been produced, it has been the result of the fact that I was let alone, and came into my present position by the natural law of development and of the survival of the fittest. [Applause.]

Of course the stagnant marshes of German State Church life will not be drained in a day. The number of theological students has temporarily diminished; but the number of evangelical students of theology in Germany has relatively increased. Little by little, men who teach religious truth are being put under the conditions of a voluntary system, and obliged to obtain their support largely from the people. But even with rationalism among the peasants, even with rationalism in the middle class, the average rule is, that the ministers who are best paid in Germany are those who preach an undiluted Christianity. The churches are changing from the State Church system to a more free system. They are not accustomed to collect funds. They know almost nothing, by experience, of our voluntary plan. For a while, ministers of the poorer classes will starve in Germany; and you must not be surprised if the number of students in theology diminishes. That is no proof that Germany is going over to scepticism. It is important to notice that Germany is in a period of transition in church affairs, and, of course, must walk staggeringly or weakly for a while, until she

walks erect in the voluntary system. Ministers may be fewer for a time, because some of them may more easily than under the State Church become poor.

But this state of things is not likely to be permanent. Heidelberg is the only decidedly rationalistic university among the twenty renowned universities of Germany. It has almost no theological students. Scholarship in support of rationalism is not easily found in the theological faculties. Germany follows her universities much more closely than we do ours. Let Harvard and Yale take what position they please, will not the mechanic on the Merrimack think what he pleases? What are Harvard and Yale to him? But your skilled operative knows here, and he knows a great deal better in Germany, that the specialist who has honestly won his rank is the authority to which he ought to listen, after a fair weighing of evidence for himself; and, now that the specialists in religious science in the universities have changed posture in Germany, we shall ultimately find all German thought changing posture.

That change will affect this shore also. Where the old wave of German rationalism, smiting on the strand of individualism in American democracy, lifted up Parker and much else, we shall have an intuitional and physiological and biblical philosophy smiting the shore here, as well as in Germany. Parker looked far less deeply than Dorner and Müller have done into the axioms of the nature of things. Ultimately, when popular education has been lifted high enough, it is to be hoped, that, in the name of self-

evident truth, we shall forget many negations, and take the great organizing religious propositions scientifically established concerning the natural laws of conscience, into that inestimably precious body of scholarship, which age after age has considered sound; and so we shall found our philosophy and our religion on those reefs of axiomatic self-evident truths, which say to all attacking surges, "Aha, thus far and no farther." [Applause.]

As we use axioms in mathematical science and in physical, so we must employ axioms in religious science. The axioms of religious science are no more in danger of going out of date than those of mathematical science. It is axiomatic theology which this Lectureship has taught. It is a theology of axioms, it is religious science based on the nature of things, it is self-evident truth, upon which I have endeavored to plant my small fortune. It is in the name of self-evident truth that I for one, on this reef of American individualism, and this stormy coast of Boston, sleep well. But I do not always sleep. The moon is in the sky; and it heralds the coming sun. In the starry concave of axioms, the conscience, which has in it deep presentiments of the necessity, not only of a new birth, but of the Atonement, and which never yet has been adequately investigated by evangelical, and never outlined — I had almost said — by merely rationalistic thought, is the moon in the firmament of reason. When I gaze upon the orb of scientific, ethical knowledge, which in our age is no longer a crescent, I remember, not infrequently, that

the eagles in the tropics, so bright is the moon at the full, sometimes in the midnight ruffle their pinions, and make ready to move aloft, as they do occasionally from Ætna's and Vesuvius' top, thinking that the day has come! Self-evident truths, axioms — they will not go out of date in mathematics. They will not go out of date in theology. We must teach all men to believe in religious axioms, as we have taught some to believe in mathematical. We must gaze on the stars and the moon, if we do not wait for the sun, or a knowledge of man's whole nature, to rise. But he who waiteth for the sun will not be disappointed.

The Koran says, that when Abraham set out on his travels, he was insufficiently acquainted with religious truth. He saw the star of evening, and said to his followers, "This is my God." But the star went down, and Abraham exclaimed, "I care not for any gods which set." He waited until the constellations appeared, and then said, "These are my Gods." But the galaxies were carried beneath the west; and he cried aloud, "I care not for gods which set." When the moon uprose, he said, "This is my God." But the moon, too, went down. When the sun uprose, he saluted it as divine; but the wheeling sky carried the king of day behind the flaming pines of the west. And Abraham in the holy twilight, turning his face toward the assenting azure, said to his people, "I give myself to Him who was, and is, and is to come, Father of the stars and moon and sun, and who never sets, because He is the Eternal Noon." [Applause.]

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

By JOSEPH COOK.

HISTORY OF THE LECTURES.

The Bibliotheca Sacra, January, 1878.

Mr. Joseph Cook was invited, early in September, 1875, by the Young Men's Christian Association of Boston, to lead the noon prayer-meeting in the Meionaon daily for a week, and to make on each occasion an address of half an hour in length. After four of these services, it was found that the audience had quadrupled in size. Mr. Cook was requested to continue his addresses daily through another week. On Monday noon, Sept. 23, the subject was "Final Permanence of Moral Character; or, The Doctrine of Future Punishment," and it was noticed that a hundred ministers were in the audience. Mr. Cook was then requested to speak on the Atonement, on a Sabbath evening, in Park-street Church. He complied with this request, and spoke to an audience filling the house to its utmost capacity. He was then invited by the Young Men's Christian Association to speak every Monday noon, in the Meionaon, for twelve weeks. Oct. 25 his subject was "Boston Sceptical Cliques." "The Daily Advertiser" had a reporter present, who reproduced a part of the address. "The Springfield Republican" began to call attention to the large number of ministers and scholars who were present at the Monday Lectures. It was suggested, in many quarters, that these lectures should be continued regularly through the winter. Meantime, Mr. Cook was delivering one course of lectures at Amherst College, and another at Mount Holyoke Seminary, largely on Materialism, Evolution, and various biological topics. The Meionaon Hall seats about eight hundred persons, and in January, 1876, was completely filled by Mr. Cook's hearers. After four months had passed, the assemblies were occasionally gathered in Bromfield-street Church. The lectures continued to be under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, until May, 1876, when, at a meeting in Bromfield-street Church, resolutions were passed founding the Boston Monday Lectureship, and placing it, for the next season, under the care of a committee, consisting of Prof. E. P. Gould of the Newton Theological Institute, the Rev. Dr. E. B. Webb of Boston, the Rev. Dr. McKeown, the Rev. Samuel Cutler, the Rev. Mr. Deming, the Rev. Edward Edmunds, and the Rev. W. M. Baker,—men of different evangelical denominations. The lectures for 1875–76 continued eight months, and closed, with the forty-fifth of the course, on the last Monday in May, in Bromfield-street Church.

In October, 1876, the lectures were resumed in the Meionaon; but the hall was found to be too small for the audience. It was,

therefore, soon transferred to Park-street Church. Two lectures were given in this large auditorium, when it was found to be much too small, and the audiences were crowded out into Tremont Temple. The first lecture there was given Nov. 13, 1876. This hall will contain from twenty-five hundred to three thousand people, and was often more than full in the winter of 1876–77. During the delivery of a course of thirteen lectures on "Biology," and of eleven on "Transcendentalism," and of eleven on "Orthodoxy," it was often necessary to turn hearers away, as they could not obtain standing-room. From the forty-fifth lecture "The Boston Daily Advertiser" published full stenographic reports of the lectures. The reporter's manuscript was revised by the lecturer. "The New-York Independent" regularly republished the lectures from February, 1876. "The Cincinnati Gazette" did the same; and a large number of newspapers throughout the country published extracts from them. In the course of the winter a few replies to certain statements in the lectures were made by Rev. Dr. James Freeman Clarke and other Unitarians, by Rev. Dr. Miner and other Universalist ministers.

From February, 1876, most of the Boston Monday Lectures were republished in London by the firm of R. D. Dickinson, Farringdon Street. Individual lectures were republished in "The Christian World Pulpit," and other theological serials of Great Britain. At the close of the course for 1876–77, in May, eighty lectures had been given, of which all from the forty-fifth had been published. In September, 1877, James R. Osgood and Company issued "Biology, with Preludes on Current Events," a collection of thirteen Boston Monday Lectures. This volume, at the beginning of December, 1877, was in its twelfth edition. In November the same house issued another course of Mr. Cook's lectures, entitled "Transcendentalism," and announced still another course, entitled "Orthodoxy."

Oct. 1, a course of ten lectures on "Conscience" was opened, and, Dec. 10, a course of ten on "Hereditary Descent." Full stenographic reports, revised by Mr. Cook, are now published in "The Boston Daily Advertiser," "The New-York Independent," "The Cincinnati Gazette," and "The New-York Advocate." Very numerous other papers publish large extracts from them. At least a hundred thousand copies appear weekly. The lectures are regularly republished in London.

It ought to be added, that since the close of his lectures in May, 1877, Mr. Cook has delivered several of them in New-York city, Rochester and Syracuse, N.Y., Princeton, N.J., and various other places; has also supplied various pulpits in Boston and other cities. Before a critic passes any severe criticism on these lectures, he may wisely ask himself whether, without having a previously established reputation, he would be able for two years to interest congregations containing sometimes fifteen hundred hearers, of whom sometimes five hundred are liberally educated men, assembled in the midst of pressing engagements, and in the whirl of a great city; and whether, in addition to his Monday-noon exercises, he would be able to superintend the printing of three volumes of his lectures on abstruse and complicated themes, to preach frequently on the sabbath, and occasionally to deliver sermons, each one of which is from one to two hours in length.

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XI. Plymouth Rock as the Corner-Stone of a Factory.

CRITICAL ESTIMATES (AMERICAN).

Rev. Prof. A. P. Peabody of Harvard University, in The Independent.

Joseph Cook is a phenomenon to be accounted for. No other American orator has done what he has done, or any thing like it, and, prior to the experiment, no voice would have been bold enough to predict its success.

We reviewed Mr. Cook's "Lectures on Biology" with unqualified praise. In the present volume we find tokens of the same genius, the same intensity of feeling, the same lightning flashes of impassioned eloquence, the same viselike hold on the rapt attention and absorbing interest of his hearers and readers. We are sure that we are unbiassed by the change of subject; for, though we dissent from some of the dogmas which the author recognizes in passing, there is hardly one of his consecutive trains of thought in which we are not in harmony with him, or one of his skirmishes in which our sympathies are not wholly on his side.

Rev. Dr. Thomas Hill, Ex-President of Harvard University, in the Christian Register.

The attempt of sundry critics to depreciate Mr. Cook's science, because he is a minister, is very ill judged. These Lectures are crowded so full of knowledge, of thought, of argument, illumined with such passages of eloquence and power, spiced so frequently with deep-cutting though good-natured irony, that I could make no abstract from them, without utterly mutilating them.

The Princeton Review.

Mr. Cook has already become famous; and these Lectures are among the chief works that have, and we may say justly, made him so. Their celebrity is due partly to the place and circumstances of

their delivery, but still more to their inherent power, without which no adventitious aids could have lifted them into the deserved prominence they have attained. . . . Mr. Cook is a great master of analysis. . . . The Lecture on the Atonement is generally just, able, and unanswerable. . . . We think, on the whole, that Mr. Cook shows singular justness of view in his manner of treating the most difficult and perplexing themes, for example, God in Natural Law, and the Trinity.

Springfield Republican.

This new preacher of modern Orthodoxy delivered his Fifty-first Monday Lecture under the caption "Life or Mechanism — Which?" this week in the Boston Park-street Church, which was crowded — even to the galleries, aisles, and pulpit-stairs — with an audience mostly composed of men, and representing, to a large degree, the culture and intellect of Boston and vicinity. This Monday Lectureship is now an established institution, and in its growing popularity will tax pretty severely the quality of Mr. Cook. He has so far, however, met the issue squarely, and shows no signs of emptiness or flagging. . . . Mr. Cook has in his favor a happy combination of personal advantages, — a good presence, mental grasp, considerable personal magnetism, logical alertness and acuteness; a habit of minute and precise analysis, with sufficient repetition of important details; a poetic and dramatic gift, lighting up what might else be dry and heavy with frequent flashes of wit and fancy, and literary and historical illustration; a restless fervor, the outcome of an excess of physical nervousness, which, however, is never disconcerted; and withal, a fine mastery of good, copious Saxon English.

Boston Daily Advertiser.

At high noon on Monday, Tremont Temple was packed to suffocation and overflowing, although five thousand people were in the Tabernacle at the same hour. The Temple audience consisted chiefly of men, and was of distinguished quality, containing hundreds of persons well known in the learned professions. Wendell Phillips, Edward Everett Hale, Bronson Alcott, and many other citizens of eminence, sat on the platform. No better proof than the character of the audience could have been desired to show that Mr. Cook's popularity as a lecturer is not confined to the evangelical denominations. (Feb. 7.)

It is not often that Boston people honor a public lecturer so much as to crowd to hear him at the noontide of a week-day; and when it does this month after month, the fact is proof positive that his subject is one of engrossing interest. Mr. Cook, perhaps more than any gentleman in the lecture-field the past few years, has been so honored. (Feb. 14.)

The Independent.

We know of no man that is doing more to-day to show the reasonableness of Christianity, and the unreasonableness of unbelief; nor do we know of any one who is doing it with such admirable tolerance, yet dramatic intensity.

George M. Beard, M.D., in the New-York Graphic.

It is said that Mr. Cook misrepresents modern science. This criticism is made mostly by those who do not read all his books; or judge by the original reports at the beginning of the series, or by floating

fragments in the papers, or by general hearsay; or very likely by those who themselves know little of science, or at least who are not versed on all sides of his subjects. His work, as it now stands, after many and careful revisions, represents fairly the present state of science on the subject of which he treats, — of the very latest and best researches. Indeed inquirers who will read all of his work, and not part of it, and who are sufficiently endowed with the scientific sense to separate the philosophical reasonings from the facts on which the reasonings are based, will find therein the clearest and most compact statements of the theories and difficulties of evolution, of the movements of bioplasm, and of physiological experiments on decapitated animals and on the electrical irritation of the brain, that appear in popular literature.

Professor John McCrady, in The Literary World.

Mr. Cook's Lectures upon Biology have done good service in making known to a Boston audience the researches of such men as Lionel Beale in England, and the thoughts of such men as Hermann Lotze in Germany, besides the admissions and inconsistencies of the practical materialists, and a valuable review of the whole state of the battle by an able and fearless theological observer like himself. The publication of these Lectures cannot fail to be of service to the extra-scientific world in general. The book well presents to outsiders a certain little-known stage of conservative scientific thought, which they cannot reach anywhere else in so accessible and compact a form. Its extremely popular form, though quite disturbing to the nervous equilibrium of a confirmed man of science, is, nevertheless, well fitted for those it aims to inform, — the great free, intelligent, and religious-minded public, who have not had their heads squeezed by specialistic boards and bandages into strange and fantastic models of approved scientific monstrosity; the people, in short, who have not made philosophical Flatheads of themselves for the sake of some narrow mole's track of scientific investigation known as a "specialty."

This *specialism*, indeed, is aiming to destroy all freedom of thought and speech, and, by consequence, all philosophic thought whatsoever, by forbidding every man to express an opinion on any subject save his own specialty. It has all the narrow intolerance of Comte's Positivism; and I, for one, honor Mr. Cook for his courage in taking it by the beard, and defying it. I heartily recommend his book to the careful reading of everybody who has the interest of scientific conservative thought at heart. Such an one will, at the least, rise from its perusal with a conception of the existing state of the great battle between spirit and matter, very different from that which Mr. Huxley, with the voice of a dragon, lays down in his "Physical Basis of Life;" and, instead of "matter and law devouring spirit and spontaneity," he will see how great cause there is for anticipating the opposite result.

Indeed, the progress of science means, to my apprehension, the very opposite of all that Mr. Huxley contends for in that essay. Spirit and spontaneity are slowly indeed, but surely, advancing along a path which will end in their completely devouring matter and law. The reality of the universe will prove to be the spirit; the illusion of it, the matter; while natural law will declare itself nothing more than the self-consistency of untrammelled spontaneity.

Professor Borden P. Bowne of Boston University, in the Sunday Afternoon.

In the chapters on the Theories of Life, these discussions are, in many respects, models of argument; and the descriptions of the facts under discussion are often unrivalled for both scientific exactness, and rhetorical adequacy of language. In the present state of the debate there is no better manual of the argument than the work in hand. The emptiness of the mechanical explanation of life was never more clearly shown.

Appletons' Journal.

It may be said that the distinguishing and striking characteristic of Mr. Cook's work is, that he pours out the treasures of the latest German thought before audiences and readers whose ideas of science and philosophy have been moulded almost exclusively by that English school, which, as Taine says, tends naturally (by racial inheritance) to materialistic views of life. Our knowledge of the author is confined to what we can obtain from his book; but this is amply sufficient to show that his intellectual equipment has been obtained in Germany, and is truly German in its comprehensiveness and precision. . . . Aside from the rhetorical brilliancy of his style, and the aptness and fertility of his illustrations, Mr. Cook's method of exposition is remarkably effective. By numbering his propositions, and stating them in the concisest possible phrase, he secures a clearness and intelligibility that are seldom so well maintained in a long and complicated argument; and the epigrammatic guise in which most of his principles and conclusions are presented impresses them with peculiar vividness upon the mind of the reader or hearer.

The Eclectic Magazine.

Mr. Cook's rhetorical and literary skill would obtain him a hearing on any subject he chose to discuss; but it is very soon seen, that, beneath the glowing and almost too fervidly eloquent language, there is a force of logic, a breadth of intellectual culture, and a mastery of all the issues involved, such as are seldom exhibited by participants on either side in the great controversy between religion and science. It may be said unqualifiedly that the pulpit has never brought such comprehensiveness and precision of knowledge, combined with such logical and literary skill, to the discussion of the questions raised by the supposed tendency of biological discovery.

International Review.

The lecture-form is retained, and the implied comments of the audience, as given by the reporters, are furnished us, — a feature which will strike readers favorably or otherwise, as their ideas are more or less severe on the composition and make-up of a book. For our part, we like this feature.

The Advance (Chicago).

The reasons given for retaining the responses of the audience, applause, &c., seem to us in this case satisfactory. It is frequently as much a matter of significant interest to know how statements were received by such an audience as to know what the one individual said. This Boston Lectureship is altogether unique in

the recent history of popular exposition of abstruse themes. One has to go back to the time of Peter Abelard of the University of Paris for a parallel to it.

The Interior (Chicago).

These Lectures are full of hard thought and eloquent expression. They dwell on the profoundest religious themes, and in the most incisive way. The same power of analysis, sharpness and precision of statement, and gorgeous rhetoric, which characterized the volume on "Biology," are conspicuous here. In these two volumes Mr. Cook has given us the most forcible and readable of all modern defences of essential Christian truth against the scientific and philosophic heresies of the day.

The Standard (Chicago).

The incisive, trenchant style of Mr. Cook has, perhaps, no more admirable adaptation and application than to the demolition of the glittering but specious logic of materialistic philosophy. It is a pleasure to the intellect, as well as to the conscience, to follow Mr. Cook in his irresistible iconoclasm among the images of the theorists who substitute evolution for God in the grand process of cosmogony.

Cincinnati Gazette.

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The Christian at Work.

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Worcester Spy.

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Hartford Courant.

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